

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CXXIII.

APRIL, 1844.

ART. I.—*The False Heir.* By G. P. R. JAMES, Esq.,
Author of “Morley Ernstein,” “Forest Days,” &c.
New York: Harper & Brothers. Price one shilling.
1843.

THE author of “Sartor Resartus,” in a petition to the House of Commons, on the copyright question, signs himself “Thomas Carlyle, a Maker of Books.” This phrase, which applies to Herr Teufelsdröckh only in a quaint sense, is applicable to Mr. G. P. R. James in its literal meaning. He is, indeed, no “maker” in the old significance of that term, for he creates nothing; but he is emphatically a literary mechanic. The organs of his brain are the tools of his trade. He manufactures novels, as other people manufacture shoes, shirts, and sheetings. He continually works up the same raw material into very nearly the same shapes. The success he has met with in his literary speculations should be chronicled in the Merchants’ or Mechanics’ Magazine. He is a most scientific expositor of the fact, that a man may be a maker of books without being a maker of thoughts; that he may be the reputed author of a hundred volumes, and flood the market with his literary wares, and yet have very few ideas and principles for his stock in trade. For the last ten years, he has been repeating his own repetitions, and echoing his own echoes. His first novel was a shot that went through the target, and he has ever since been assiduously firing through the hole. To protect his person from

VOL. LVIII. — NO. 123.

35

critical assault, he might pile up a bulwark of books many volumes thick and many feet high. Yet the essence of all that he has written, if subjected to a refining process, might be compressed into a small space, and even then would hardly bear the test of time, and journey safely down to posterity. When we reflect upon the character and construction of his works, and apply to them certain searching tests, they dwindle quickly into very moderate dimensions. We find, that the enormous helmet encloses only a small nut, that the nut is an amplified exponent of the kernel, and that the kernel itself is neither very rich nor very rare. As space has no limits, and as large portions of it are still unoccupied by tangible bodies, it seems not very philosophical to quarrel with any person who endeavours to fill up its wide chasms ; yet, in the case of Mr. James, we grudge the portion of infinite space which his writings occupy. We dispute his right to pile up matter, which is the type or symbol of so small an amount of spirit. We sigh for the old vacuum, and think, that, though nature may have abhorred it in the days of Aristotle, her feelings must have changed since modern mediocrity has filled it with such weak apologies for substance and form.

Piron, standing before the hundred volumes of Voltaire, remarked, " This luggage is too heavy to go down to posterity." What would he have said, if he could have seen the hundred volumes published by Mr. James ? We think of the " Vicar of Wakefield," which one can carry in his pocket ; of Charles Lamb's delightful " Essays " ; of the tragedy of " Ion " ; and of many other small and precious gems, which time cannot dim ; and when we contrast these with Mr. James's voluminous mediocrity and diffusive commonplace, we obtain a new and vivid idea of the difference between quantity and quality.

When a man has little or nothing to say, he should say it in the smallest space. He should not, at any rate, take up more room than suffices for a creative mind. He should not provoke hostility and petulance, by the effrontery of his demands upon time and patience. He should let us off with a few volumes, and gain our gratitude for his benevolence, if not our praise for his talents. But when we find him " multiplying himself among mankind," and looking out upon us from such a vast variety of points, — demanding our assent to the common notion that he is a great producer of

thought and sentiment, — we are provoked into a desire to sift his pretensions to the bottom.

We would not be so unjust to the numerous readers of Mr. James, even to that unfortunate portion of them who consider him the legitimate successor of Scott, as to assert their ignorance of his faculty of reproduction. A dim reminiscence, similar to that on which Plato founds his doctrine of the soul's preëxistence, they must have had occasionally, while re-perusing an old novel in a new dress. A dull country gentleman was once seduced into an attempt to read the "*Vicar of Wakefield*." He journeyed through that exquisite book, seemingly at the rate of ten pages an evening; but when he laid it down for the night, and carefully marked the place where he stopped, some impudent niece or nephew put the mark about eight pages back in the volume. Of course, many months elapsed before he arrived at the end. He was then asked how he was pleased with it; "Oh! he liked it very well, but he thought there was a little repetition in it!" An objection somewhat similar to this, we have heard made against Mr. James, and with about as clear an insight into the real secret of the matter.

To write a good novel, or a series of good novels, is not generally considered, even by those whose whole reading is confined to romance, to require any great effort of talent or genius. A man who repeats some axioms in physics, or wraps up a plain fact in a metaphysical shroud, is more likely to be considered as a great personage, than a writer of creative mind, who thrills the heart, or warms the imagination, with a prose epic. The products of the inventive powers rarely obtain so much of the popular reverence, as the deductions of the understanding. Works which have caused their authors vast labor and patient meditation; which have stimulated every faculty of their nature to the utmost; which may have required not only the highest imagination, but the deepest and most comprehensive thought; and which are pervaded, it may be, by the results of a whole life of feeling, action, observation, and reflection; are still generally classed as "*light reading*." It may be *light reading*, but nothing is more certain than that it is not commonly *light writing*. The novel of "*Ivanhoe*" may be placed by some in the department of light literature. But if those who coolly classify in this manner would but reflect upon

the vast and minute knowledge of English history it displays, the power of intellect evinced in the conduct of the story, and the greater power of imagination exercised in making the dead past a living present, — and, especially, if they would bring to mind the author, as he appeared while the scene between Rebecca and the Knight Templar was circling through his heart and fancy, as he strode hurriedly up and down his study, with his face agitated by high passion, and his lips quivering with the intensity of his feelings, — they might perhaps think, that the matter was not so “light” after all, and that any word suggestive of indolence was the most inapplicable that could be used.

In reading novels, but little regard is paid to the high genius which they sometimes manifest. The interest of the story is the test which is usually applied by the general reader. A young lady reads with great delight “*The Scottish Chiefs*,” “*The Children of the Abbey*,” or “*Santo Sebastiano*.” The sentiments are refined, the incidents please, and the whole work is “so interesting!” She takes up the “*Bride of Lammermoor*,” a tragedy which Sophocles might have written, had he lived in this age, and acknowledges that, though it is interesting, it is an unpleasant book, for it ends badly. And thus she judges. To her, Miss Porter, Mrs. Roche, Mrs. Radcliffe, Miss Edgeworth, Scott, Bulwer, James, and Dickens are all delightful novelists, all interesting, and therefore, all equally good, except that Scott and Dickens are sometimes inclined to low humor, and are not always so refined as the others. At the same time, she acknowledges that reading their books is a frivolous occupation, and is likely to unfit the mind for practical duties; and she throws out dubious hints of the histories and philosophies which form the staple of her reading, and of the scientific lectures which she honors with her attendance.

The absence in most minds of any clear principles of criticism, and the many bad and feeble novels which are mixed up confusedly with those which are excellent, are the probable causes of this hallucination. We are often struck with the lack of discrimination, even of sensible people, on this subject. Smollet and Fielding are placed in the same category with Ainsworth and Lever, and all are often confounded with Dickens. The peculiar taste and idiosyncrasy

of each writer, the diversity both in the subject and the manner of its treatment, the different faculties exercised by each, and the wide difference in the moral character unconsciously impressed on their works, — all these points are repeatedly overlooked. All these works please, and help to wile away an hour of *ennui* or leisure, and they all are classed under one undistinguishing name. Few think, that the mere fact of writing a good work of fiction entitles an author to a high rank, even among those who are called imaginative writers. Pope, they think, will outlive the whole tribe.

Novel-writing, then, is generally deemed to be as “easy as lying.” The facility with which things called novels are written seems to favor the dogma. Still, we humbly conceive it to be an error. Many persons have attained a marvellous proficiency in falsehood, and tell lies as assiduously as a friar does his beads ; but the number of great novelists is small. Lying, therefore, is no key to the mystery of romance. Let us seek the solution in a rarer quality — truth. “I can write prose as well as Mr. Pope,” said the sagacious Edmund Curll, the bookseller ; “but he has a *knack* of rhyming which I do not possess.” Now the difference between Mr. Curll and Mr. Pope is no greater than that which exists between good and bad novelists. The former have a certain “knack” which the latter cannot obtain ; — and this is the knack of seeing and telling the truth. Here is an important distinction. The power of faithfully delineating life, character, society, and manners, is one of the rarest gifts of genius. In its greatest manifestations, it is felt to be the noblest exercise of a creative mind.

Now Mr. James, in some of the most important qualifications of a novelist, is remarkably deficient. He has little objectivity. He is chained to his own consciousness. His insight into character and life is feeble. He cannot go out of his own little world of thought and emotion, and sympathize with other grades and modes of being. Every thing he writes is “sicklied o’er” with his own feelings. There is no spontaneous exercise of his faculties, — none of that yielding of the will and reason to the impulses of imagination and passion, — none of that running over of the heart in the worship of the mind’s creations, — none of that forgetful-

ness of self in sympathy with other beings, — which we observe in the masters of his art. His plots, his characters, his emotions, his outbreaks of feeling, are all deliberated and forced. He places a moral reflection, or a feeble speculation, at due pauses in the march of his story, with a sort of mathematical precision. The reader who desires not to have his principles corrupted by unconscious sympathy with any act or utterances of the characters in the novel, which may not square with the moral code, is soon relieved from any apprehension of the kind, by noticing that Mr. James follows the progress of the plot, catechism in hand, and reads a homily from it whenever the necessities of morality require. If he had written the tragedy of "Othello," and had put into Iago's mouth the words which Shakspeare uses, he would have filled half of the page with notes, stating his reasons for such an outrage upon morality, carefully distinguishing between his own opinions and those of the character, and adding copious truisms on the wickedness of malice and revenge. Mothers, therefore, think they can trust their children to the care of Mr. James, and are willing that they should journey through the land of romance under his guidance. As soon as one of his novels is issued, the newspapers devote a column to his "beautiful" moral reflections and rose-colored sentiments. Readers who have a right to demand, that the journal should be filled with news and advertisements, find themselves cheated and bored, by being compelled to admire the old speculations of Mr. James on destiny, fatalism, the affections, the will, and such other topics as form the staple of his colloquies with the reader.

Now this is "from the purpose" of novel-writing. To a person accustomed to the manner of greater and more artistical novelists, it is an unendurable infliction. If the thoughts were valuable in themselves, bore any marks of originality and freshness, seemed to be called forth naturally by the incidents related, or were woven with any skill into the texture of the narrative, they might be pleasing; but the understanding of Mr. James never succeeds in the attempt to clutch an original idea, or to speculate on any subject which requires dialectical power; and, consequently, he doses the reader with truisms, or perplexes him with reveries. He gives dim hints of his opinions on any question of metaphysics which crosses the path of his narrative,

but he does not grasp and attempt to answer it. The most striking instances of "catching at ideas by the tail," of which we have any knowledge, are seen in his reveries on destiny, which re-appear in each successive work that comes from his fertile pen and unfruitful intellect. It seems astonishing, that a man could have this subject so often in his mind, for a period of twenty years, and not blunder upon some opinion about it, correct or erroneous. He does not appear to know, that his unformed notions on this point, so far as they can be reduced to formulas, lead directly to fatalism.

But the great defect of Mr. James as a novelist is his lack of skill in the creation or accurate delineation of individual character. If the novel be intended as a mirror of actual life, either past or present, it should contain not only events, but men and women. Character should be exhibited, not didactically, but dramatically. We demand human beings, — not embodied antitheses, or personified qualities, thoughts, or passions. The author has no right to project himself into his characters, and give different proper names to one personality. We want a forcible conception and consistent development of individual minds, with traits and peculiarities which constitute their distinction from other minds. They should be drawn with sufficient distinctness to enable the reader to give them a place in his memory, and to detect all departures, either in language or action, from the original types. We desire beings, not ideas; something concrete, not abstract.

To fulfil this condition seems easy; but the scarcity of men and women in current romances and plays proves at once, that it is difficult and indispensable. A wide range of what is sometimes called "characterization" is very rarely found, even in the works of men of genius, or rather men *with* genius. Byron's power in this respect only extended to one character, and that was his own, placed in different circumstances and modified by varying impulses. When he aimed at a larger range, and attempted to give freshness and life to individual creations, the result was feebleness and failure, which the energy and splendor of his diction could not wholly conceal. Manfred, Childe Harold, and Don Juan are the different names of one mind. Shakspeare's Timon comprehends them all, and is also more naturally

drawn. Innumerable instances might be given, of strenuous attempts made in this difficult department, which have ended in ignominious failure. Dr. Young's *Zanga* and Shiel's *Pescara* are ideas and passions embodied. Iago is a man, possessing ideas and passions.

In truth, to be successful in the exact delineation of character requires a rare combination of powers, — a large heart and a comprehensive mind. It is the attribute of universality, not of versatility, or subtilty. It can be obtained only by outward, as well as inward, observation. That habit of intense brooding over individual consciousness, of making the individual mind the centre and circumference of everything, which is common to many eminent poets of the present age, has turned most of them into egotists, and limited the reach of their minds. They are great in a narrow sphere. They have little of that clear catholicism of spirit, which is even "tolerant to opposite bigotries"; which seeks to display men as they are, not as they may be, or ought to be; which is not fanatical for one idea, and seeks not to be considered as the one inhabitant of the whole earth. Most of our great poets of the present century have taken the world into their hands, and made it over again, agreeably to a type of excellence in their own imaginations. The current subjective metaphysics of the day pursues the same method. Egotism in poetry and in philosophy meets us everywhere. The splendid mental qualities often exercised in both redeem them from the censure we apply to meaner and smaller attempts in the same one-sided, subjective method.

Not in this manner did Shakspeare work. It was not from a lack of imagination, that he did not turn every thing he touched into "something rich and strange." His excursions into the land of dream and fancy throw all others into the shade. But he knew when and where outward men and events should modify inward aspirations and feelings. He would not do injustice even to crime or folly, but represented both as they are. In what may be called the creation of character, in distinction from its delineation, as in *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Lear*, his excellence is unapproachable. In no other department in which the human intellect can be exercised, does it so nearly approach the divine, as in this. It is creation in the highest human sense

of the term. It takes the elements of humanity, and combines them in such a manner as to produce a new individual, essentially different from other beings, yet containing nothing which clashes with the principles of human nature. Who believes, that a character exactly like Macbeth or Miranda ever existed; yet who ever thought they were unnatural? In fact, these ideal beings are as true existences to the soul, as any friends or enemies whom we see bodily. They are more real than most of the names of persons which we read in history. We quote their sayings, and refer to their actions, as if they were living beings. They are objects to us of love or hate. We take sides for or against them, in all their principles and actions. We forget the author in his creations.

The delineation of character, in which observation, reflection, and imagination are variously exercised, is also a high merit in a poet or novelist. English literature contains many authors who have evinced great skill in the use of this power, and it is indispensable to the novelist of real life. The Vicar of Wakefield, Parson Adams, Squire Western, Rob Roy, Baillie Nicol Jarvie, and Tony Weller are names taken at random, but they are all living beings. They are our friends from the moment we make their acquaintance. Has Mr. James added one to this company? Has he delineated a single character which is wedded to our memories? Yet few authors have written more novels; and his volumes are filled with more names of persons than would suffice for a chronological table to a universal history.

He has certain types of character, which he generally reproduces in each successive novel. And here we would do Mr. James complete justice. He has an exact sense of moral distinctions, and his personages, though not strictly individuals, are walking essays on character, replete with instruction, and displaying some analytical skill. His hero is generally brave, loving, noble in mind and heart, combining reflection with action, and is a fit model for imitation, if we except the number of men he slays in the course of the story. As he does this, however, in a perfectly chivalrous way, and is justified in it by the usages of the times in which the person is supposed to live, we hardly think that even the peace societies would take much exception to the

practice. The moral tone of thought and action is generally high and true. The heroine is always idealized into something which is neither spirit, nor flesh and blood. We perceive that the author has an exalted feeling of the beauty of woman's character, and has a desire to represent it in concrete, so that it will strike forcibly upon the heart, and be garnered in the memory ; but he fails in his purpose. His women, like his men, are ideas and feelings embodied. They are constructed, not created, or painted ; built, not drawn. They do not stand boldly from the canvass. They are, to our minds, reflections on female character, like those we read in the " Rambler." We are told by the author, that they act, suffer, love, and hate ; but we do not find it out for ourselves. His heroine is so beatified with description, that she loses all hold upon sympathy. Die Vernon and Jeanie Deans whisper in our hearts, that she does not strictly belong to the sex. She is a beautiful icicle, flushed with the sun's tints, and having the appearance, but not the reality, of warmth. She is a frail, delicate, lovely, unreal creature, whom we praise and admire, as we do all that is good and beautiful. We hope that she will get safely through all her troubles — that her health will not be injured by mental distress or outward accident — and that she will in the end be happily married. She is " A Young Lady's Guide," walking " from the covers."

Now all this, we repeat, is " from the purpose " of novel-writing. If we compare one of Mr. James's heroines either with a fine creation, like Desdemona, or a natural delineation, like Sophia Western, or a purely ideal portrait, like Shelley's Cythna, we perceive, that he fails in each and every department of the creation and portraiture of character. She is neither the reality, nor the possibility, of woman.

Connected with these names of good persons, there is generally a scoundrel. The mechanical nature of Mr. James's mind is shown more in the construction of his wicked personages, than in anything else. His rascal is an unmitigated rascal. He takes the idea of a man with a sharp intellect and great capacity, whose whole nature is under the dominion of selfish passion, — gives the idea a name, and intermingles it with the machinery of his plot. This criminal appears regularly in every novel, and labors

assiduously to overthrow the hero and heroine. He is something like Gammon, in "Ten Thousand a Year." He has the advantage over goodness, until nearly the end of the volume, and is then dismissed to proper punishment. This type of character is the most forcible of the author's attempts ; but Rashleigh Osbaldistone, or Varney, throws it into the shade. Whenever Mr. James aims to draw humorous persons, to fill in the spaces of his narrative, he never succeeds, not even in making them say witty or humorous things.

We might extend these remarks to other personages in our author's novels ; but it is needless. If we are correct in the view we have taken, it is proved, that Mr. James, in several high qualities of romance, is deficient. Yet he is compared, by many of his admirers, with Scott. Their reasoning to support so singular a conjunction must be drawn from the stores of honest Fluellen. Mr. James chooses historical events as the basis or auxiliary of his plot, and pours forth novels as other men do essays ; Sir Walter Scott did the same ; therefore, they bear a surprising resemblance to each other as novelists. This is the old argument ; " There is a mountain in Wales, and there is a mountain in Macedon." In truth, no two writers have less in common, in the essentials of their art, than Scott and James. Scott's marvellous range of character, the fertility with which he created or painted individual beings, his genial sympathy with his race, his remarkable objectivity of mind, his open sense to all outward objects, would alone constitute a great gulf between him and James. He did not repeat himself in his novels. He wrote fast, because his mind produced quickly. In the poorest of his novels, he always gives us some characters whom we ever remember with pleasure. Mr. James's knowledge of history, great as it is, and much as he draws upon it, is used without any of the peculiar power of imagination with which Scott gave life and hue to what were before mere names, and made his readers contemporaries with the past. A king, a man-at-arms, or a tournament, delineated by the author of " Waverley," is presented to our minds as vividly as real personages or events, which have passed before our own eyes. To this pictorial imagination Mr. James has little claim. He gives to his scenes the vividness of history, not that of reality, or romance.

A writer who chooses great subjects and personages for his themes often obtains that rank in general estimation, which should be held only by those who treat them with eminent ability. Mr. James is considered by many to be a greater man than Mr. Dickens, because he delineates kings and nobles ; describes battles ; shows a minute acquaintance with history ; makes all his characters mathematically moral or immoral ; strains ever to obtain a certain stilted elevation of thought and sentiment ; is careful never to wound the most fastidious delicacy with any words which may convey or suggest unpleasant and vulgar images ; and speculates dubiously on government, nature, the arts, religion, and destiny. We are quite sick of hearing him praised for his attempts, instead of being judged by his execution. One of Mr. Dickens's coachmen is more worthy of admiration than one of Mr. James's kings. A cardinal, or a pope, may be a loftier personage than a poor parish priest ; to delineate the former, "from the heart outwards, and not from the flesh inwards," may be a greater triumph of art than to succeed in portraying the latter ; but still Parson Adams "bears the gree" from all the clerical dignitaries of romance. The nature of the man should not be confounded with his name or his garb. To call a personage a bishop, and to represent him in the dress of his order, is not to delineate a bishop. Beneath all externals, there are a human heart and brain, and an individuality distinguishing him from every other bishop. To exhibit him dramatically, either in play or novel, it is indispensable that these characteristics should be preserved.

It may be asked, why it is, if Mr. James is thus deficient in the higher qualities of the novelist, that his works are so popular. Are they not read and admired by thousands ? They *are* read, admired, and forgotten. They are not read a second time. By the time one has passed from the memory, another flows into it, which, in its turn, gives place to a third. No characters or incidents adhere to the mind, and become to it a possession for ever. After we have studied them all, we find that they have only given us general ideas, or furnished us with historical knowledge. We love and remember none of his personages for themselves alone. They are all insensibly resolved into their original abstractions. We recollect one of his few types of character, as we remember a proposition in Combe's "Constitution of Man."

But it may still be asked, Whence comes it, that his novels are read at all? We might here avail ourselves of a New England privilege, and answer this question with another equally pertinent. Why are the productions of fanaticism, quackery, bad taste, and sentimentality read? Why do melodramas draw larger audiences than "Macbeth"? But we have no wish to evade difficulties, by insisting strongly on the rights derived from our local position. We answer, therefore, by acknowledging, that, though the test of merit is not success, yet there must be some reason in the construction of a popular book, to account for its popularity; and in Mr. James's case, this public favor is owing to the intricacy and interest of his plots.

The incidents in his novels are brought together with much cunning and skill. Every person who begins one of his books desires to get through it as quickly as possible. To many this may appear the highest praise, and to settle the question at once. To us, it does not so appear. Although the power of creating incident, and of skilfully linking one event to another, is an important element of a good novel, yet it is not the most important, nor is it one in which Mr. James enjoys preëminence. When we discover the secret of his method of story-building, our admiration decreases greatly. We acknowledge, that his novels are interesting, that they awaken and fix attention; but we discriminate between the kind of interest they excite, and the interest of "Tom Jones" or "Ivanhoe." We perceive that his plots are pieces of machinery, constructed according to the laws of mathematics. Their intricacy, and not their naturalness, is the source of their hold upon our minds. The characters seem not to have free play. They are puppets, moved by the scheming brain of the author. We know that the hero and heroine will enjoy no felicity or peace until the conclusion of the third volume, and we hasten to the consummation as fast as our eyes can carry us. The world to which we are introduced is not a free, common world, where there are chances in favor both of vice and virtue; but a fenced park, full of man-traps and spring guns. A sort of iron necessity conducts every thing. We do not feel ourselves safe, until we have come to the conclusion. A sort of feverish, unhealthy excitement is the feeling we experience as we read. There is always some murder, forgery, or other

dark crime, in the past or the future, which we have a natural desire to expose and punish. The good characters are entangled in such a web of evil ; there is such a provoking succession of premeditated accidents which seem untoward ; they are walking so long on the verge of a deep gulf, into which the slightest false step may precipitate them ; that our feelings of philanthropy are enlisted in their behalf, and the common axioms which forbid cruelty to animals impel us to wish them speedy death or happiness.

Mr. James is also a spendthrift of human life. When he has done with a character, or thinks it necessary to enhance the interest of his story by something awful, he strikes his pen into one of his *dramatis personæ*, without the slightest mercy, and literally blots him from existence. He knows well, that murder and violence are popular in romance, and he is desirous, like a sagacious book merchant, to make the supply equal to the demand. Whether he has any compunctious visitings of conscience, after gratifying, in this manner, his murderous thoughts, we are unable to determine ; but we think the carelessness with which he slays evinces the feebleness with which he conceives. If his personages were real to his own heart or imagination, if they were any thing more than clothed ideas and passions, we doubt if he would part with them so easily, or kill them with such *non-chalance*. His hero, of course, is preserved amidst the general slaughter, but not without many wounds both of the body and spirit.

We have heard the style of Mr. James praised, but on what principle of taste we could never discover. To us it seems but ill adapted to narrative. It has little flow and perspicuity, and no variety. It is usually heavy, lumbering, and monotonous. His sentences seem constructed painfully, yet doggedly, and not to spring spontaneously from his brain, inspired by the thought or feeling they are intended to convey. The impression they leave upon the mind is a little unpleasant. Half of the words seem in the way of the idea, and the latter appears not to have strength enough to clear the passage. Occasionally, a short, sharp sentence comes, like a flash of lightning, from the cloud of his verbiage, and relieves the twilight of his diction ; but generally, the reader must plod laboriously through one of his volumes, and, if he can overlook the style in the incidents, it is all the

better for his patience. James has none of that wonderful power of clear narration, which we observe in Scott ; that ductile style, which changes with each change in the story, and seems insensibly to mould itself into the shape of the thought and emotion which are uppermost at the time. Nor has he any of that quiet, demure humor, which Scott often infuses into the very heart of his diction, as in the first hundred pages of "*Redgauntlet*." There is a strait-laced gravity in Mr. James's manner, which is often ridiculous, because wholly inappropriate. In all those higher qualities of style, which do not relate to the mere rhetorical arrangement of words and sentences, but spring directly from passion, fancy, or imagination, and bear the impress of the writer's nature, he is very deficient. There are but few felicitous phrases in his manifold volumes. He has hardly any of those happy combinations of words, which stick fast to the memory, and do more than pages to express the author's meaning. With all his command of a certain kind of elegant language, he has little command of expression. His imagination, as a shaping power, has either no existence, or he writes too rapidly to allow it time to perform its office. His imagery is common ; and his manner of arraying a trite figure in a rich suit of verbiage only makes its essential commonness and poverty more evident. His style is not dotted over with any of those shining points, either of imagery or epigram, which illumine works of less popularity and pretension. To us his temperament seems sluggish, and is only kindled into energy by the most fiery stimulants. "A slow, rolling grandiloquence" seems his rhetorical ideal, and he does not always succeed in attaining even that humble height of expression. As his object, however, seems to be to fill out three volumes with a narration of incidents which will please, rather than to cultivate any of those qualities of condensation and picturesqueness which would compress them into one, we may not be justified in interfering between him and his bookseller.

In these remarks, we do not intend to say, that our novelist has no passages which clash with this opinion of his style. It would be a monstrous supposition, that a human being could possibly write a hundred volumes, without being betrayed at times into eloquence and beauty of expression. We refer, in our strictures, to general traits, not to individ-

ual exceptions ; to the desert, and not to the oases in it. Mr. James evidently possesses talents sufficiently great to enable him to write well, if he would only learn to "labor and to wait" ; but he is cursed with the mania of book-making, and seems to look more to the number of his pages than to the quality of his rhetoric.

In these remarks on Mr. James, as a novelist, we have intended to do him no injustice. We are willing to grant him the praise of talents and learning, and to do fit honor to the moral purpose he seems to have in his writings. But we dispute his claim to those qualities which constitute the chief excellences of a novelist ; we doubt his possession of that fecundity of mind, which can produce a series of novels, without constant repetition of old types of character and old machinery of plot. If the severity of our criticism has ever run into fanciful exaggeration, it has been owing to the petulant humor engendered by exposing unfounded pretension.

Indeed, Mr. James does not appear like a man who could be wounded or hurt by severe criticism. The abstract character of the personages of his novels affects our own view of himself. We oppose him as we would oppose an idea or a principle. We do not consider him as an individual. Our imagination refuses to shape the idea suggested by his name into a palpable person. Whenever an author appears to our mind in a concrete form, the quality of mercy we extend to his compositions is never "strained". We feel for his pardonable vanity, and we would launch at him no sarcasm calculated to lacerate his delicate sensibilities. He is a human being, a brother, or, at least, a cousin. If he be a dunce, we pat him on the shoulder, and tell him to try again. If he be a man of talents, with some absurd or pernicious principles, we regret that the latter should weaken the respect we bear to the former. But not so is it with Mr. James. We no more think of hurting his feelings by sharp criticism, than of wounding the sensibility of Babbage's calculating machine by detecting it in a mathematical error. To us he is a thin essence, impenetrable to the weapons of earthly combat, and unmoved by any hail-storm of satire which might seem to beat on his frame. He is an abstraction, and, therefore, the last person to expect, that a reviewer will hide the thorns of analysis in the flowers of panegyric.

ART. II. — *Poems*, by JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Cambridge : Published by John Owen. 1844. 12mo. pp. 279.

MR. LOWELL has already taken a high rank among the younger poets of America. His former volume, "*A Year's Life*," was noticed at some length in this Journal, immediately on its appearance ; and the opinion of its merits and defects, which we then pronounced, has been sanctioned on the whole by the assent of the public. Mr. Lowell has since appeared as a contributor to several journals, besides having edited for some time a monthly magazine, "*The Pioneer*," with marked ability. In this, he published prose papers, which, in our judgment, are among the very best of his writings ; we refer particularly to the articles on English song-writers. They show a deep appreciation of the poetical merits of those authors, and a fineness of critical tact quite unusual in the literature of the magazines.

Mr. Lowell evidently feels the sanctity of the poetical vocation. He devotes himself to it heart and soul, laboring to exercise his mind in careful study of the art, with respect both to thought and execution. Since the publication of his first volume, he has made great progress. He has acquired a more complete command of versification and language. He has, to a great extent, freed himself from the affectations and puerilities which were disagreeably prominent in that work. Affectation is one of the principal dangers that seem to beset American literature. In the throng and pressure of older communities, where the great mass of present literature is produced, oddities and affectations, unless they are supported by extraordinary genius, are soon laughed out of countenance. Ridicule is the keen weapon under which they speedily fall and expire. But in our country, intellectual powers are not brought into such perpetual collision ; and the poet has by no means so fearful an ordeal to pass through. If he show tolerable skill in versifying, if he marshal sounding sentiments into smoothly flowing lines, he is pretty sure to be set down, by one *coterie* at least, as a great poet, if not the very greatest of the country and age. We have among us little companies of people, each of which "keeps its poet" ; and not content with that, proclaims

from its small corner, with a most conceited air, that its poet is the man of the age. Thus, we have a sect of believers who think Mr. Bryant the greatest American poet ; another of those who declare Mr. Halleck the very man ; others still claim this distinguished rank for Percival ; *one man* thinks Cornelius Mathews has written the finest American poetry ; and a very respectable party of over-zealous admirers give the precedence to Mr. Lowell. We have our own private opinion on this interesting question, which we shall not at present divulge. Now, this tone of talking and writing is essentially youthful and silly. It is worse ; it does mischief to the subjects of such injudicious and measureless applause. It sets up false standards, and erects altars to a multiplicity of idols. It makes us appear to be a nation of very unwise and inexperienced boasters. Our exaggerated claims are necessarily laughed at by all whose views extend beyond the lines of "Little Pedlington" society. We are looked upon as a race of bragging boys, or but little better.

American literature is, in many respects, under very unfortunate influences. Many of our writers are men of imperfect knowledge, — men whose attainments in letters are, comparatively speaking, contemptible. Their range of thought is narrow, and their thoughts themselves are feeble. Their conceptions are indistinct ; their imagery wan and faded ; their expressions tame and commonplace, or tawdry and affected. The latter is quite as often the case as the former. This is the vice which has appeared within the last few years under a great variety of forms ; and, of all the vices by which American literature has been attacked, it has struck the deepest and spread the widest. We all remember when Mr. Carlyle's whimsical peculiarities made their first appearance, and the effect they had at once upon the servile tribe. Mr. Carlyle is a man of genius, learning, and humane tendencies ; his brilliant thoughts often break through the ragged clouds of his most absurd phraseology, and make us grieve, that an author capable of writing so well should write so execrably ; should spoil the effect of his fine powers by the paltry folly of imitating so bad a model as Jean Paul Richter ; an "original" writer who kept a commonplace book of odd expressions and far-fetched figures, which he embroidered on the ground of his natural style. The study of German became an epidemic about the time that Carlyle broke out ;

the two disorders aggravated each other, and ran through all the stages incident to literary affectation, until they assumed their worst form and common sense breathed its last, as the "Orphic Sayings" came, — those most unmeaning and witless effusions — we cannot say of the brain, for the smallest modicum of brains would have rendered their appearance an impossibility, — but of mere intellectual inanity.

Thus Carlyle rejected his own early and manly English style, to imitate in English a bad German model. The American Carlyle tribe imagined they were doing a wise and brilliant thing, by imitating the second-hand absurdities of an imitator, mistaking these borrowed follies for great originalities, and forgetting that affectation is the deadliest poison to the growth of sound literature. Similar affectations have made their appearance at other times and in other nations. The Euphuists were not quite so ridiculous as the Transcendentalists; the metaphysical poets were men of learning and genius, highly admired in their day for the very vices which have sunk them into complete oblivion now. The followers of Gongora and the *Culturists*, in Spain, so exquisitely described in a few pungent sentences in "Gil Blas," — what do they seem but a deplorable set of dunces, through whose works the literary historian plods his weary way, thanking the gods when he has left them far behind! The Marinisti in Italy played the same fantastic part, and have met with the same inevitable destiny. In France, the Hôtel Rambouillet, in the great age, was the nucleus around which gathered a band of beautiful spirits, who were annihilated by the *Précieuses Ridicules* of Molière, before they had reached the measureless inanity in which our fantastic youth disport themselves. In all these cases, more learning and genius were expended — incomparably more — than have as yet been embodied in the school of American affectations. Yet, among the American Euphuists are several men of really fine genius and respectable acquirements, and some very amiable women, who would adorn society, if they would consent to be themselves, and to clear their heads of cant. But being possessed of the demon of affectation, they strive to set themselves apart from the common herd, imagine that they are inhabitants of a sublimated ether, and look down with pitying contempt on all who profess an inability to detect a meaning in their vapid and mystical jargon.

A great deal of our poetry is tainted with the imitation of the mannerisms, which have successively prevailed in England during the last quarter of a century. For a time, the Byronic tone was taken up and reëchoed, till the patience of the public was thoroughly exhausted. Then we had feeble and flat imitations of Mrs. Hemans, which have not yet entirely disappeared ; and now, feebler and flatter imitations of Alfred Tennyson wear out the forbearance of a long-suffering community. In Mr. Lowell's first volume, we thought we saw a tendency to this second-hand poetizing ; a disposition to mimic the jingle of a man, who, with much genius and an exquisite ear for musical rhythm, has also a Titanian fondness for quaint and dainty expressions, affected turns, and mawkishly effeminate sentiment ; and who would be the worst model, therefore, not only for a young poet to imitate, but even to read ; so contagious are the vices of his manner.

But the symptoms have, to a great degree, passed off, or Mr. Lowell has nearly outgrown the disease with which his literary childhood was threatened, if not actually assailed. We recognize in his later productions a firmer intellect, a wider range of thought, a bolder tone of expression, and a versification greatly improved. We feel that he is now becoming master of his fine powers, and an artist in the execution of his conceptions. The character of his more elaborate productions is, in general, noble and elevated, though tinged somewhat with the vague speculations which pass current in some circles for philosophy. There is a similar vagueness in the expression of religious feeling ; positive religious views, though not rejected, are kept far in the background. Many of the poems are devoted to the utterance of sentiments of humanity ; and here, though the feelings expressed are always amiable and tender, the youth and inexperience of the poet are clearly manifested. He is a dreamer, apparently, brooding over the wrongs which are endured in the present state of society, and rashly inferring that the existing institutions are bad, and should be overthrown. Such radical opinions are not perhaps directly uttered, but the general tone tends that way.

Now, it requires but little observation to see, that the present state of the world is produced by the operation of natural laws, working slowly and surely through the ages ; and that the present organization of society can

be changed for the better only by the same gradual process. Every expression of lofty feeling, every act of heroism, every discovery of science, every newly found source of wealth and physical well being, every poetical creation, are incessantly coöperating towards this remote result. It does no good, however, to say that all is going wrong, as things are now constituted ; and to stand apart, and cultivate peculiarities of opinion and isolation of feeling, while the great world is in full activity all around us, is worse than idle. It is the part of the manly intellect to take hold of the work, whatever it be, that lies before him ; and, cheerfully falling in with the modes of action, and the manners of his contemporaries, so far as those modes of action and those manners have nothing against which an enlightened conscience revolts, to work, in his great taskmaster's eye, with simplicity, courage, and truth. The individual mind, once possessed with the idea, that it is animated by a spirit which does not condescend to enlighten others, that it has loftier views of society, or a wider and more comprehensive philanthropy, than others, runs the great danger of mistaking the suggestions of vanity for the dictates of conscience ; of cultivating singularity for the sake of making the beholder wonder, and of procuring the gratification of self-conceit by being pointed out in the streets and public places. The feeling is very apt to be the same as that by which persons are almost always animated, who adopt a peculiar costume, and cultivate oddity of personal appearance. Feeble imitations and affectations, of the same general description, though differing in species, are to be seen on every side, — outward indications of the same vices which have emasculated so much both of the prose and poetry of our literature.

We think a little more reflection will convince Mr. Lowell, that, in the opinions and principles of conduct now prevailing, in the organization of society and the current manners of the world, there is much less to dissent from than he seems at present to imagine ; and that a few years more will see him wholly emancipated from those peculiarities of thought and feeling, whose tendency is towards isolation ; whose result is to enfeeble the active powers first, and then to bring down the poetical genius from its lofty heights, and bind it to the narrow circle of individual views, thoughts, and experiences. With his manly reach of mind, it is impossible that he

should dwell long among the unsubstantial dreams of radical reform. The real interests of men, strong characters unfolded under the pressure of actual conflicts with the difficulties of life, passions burning in hearts that have borne the brunt of sorrow and suffering, — these are the subjects that must expel a dreamy philosophy, an unsubstantial religion, and a vague and brooding passion for some Utopian state of society, which the world can never reach, except by the slow operation of general laws, through a long series of centuries, if it reach at all.

Mr. Lowell's poems want compression. In the words of Taylor, the *whey* needs pressing out. Redundancy, both of thought and expression, is the principal fault which we think the critical reader will be disposed to find with them. The subjects of many of his poems are drawn out to a wearisome length, by interweaving, not only the leading thoughts which belong to their proper treatment, but all the subordinate ideas and common-place moralities, which should be taken for granted, as understood of themselves. To borrow an expression from the writers on metre, they abound in *logaædic endings*; — they are poetry terminating in prose. Sometimes, at the end of a fine poetical piece, a long moral application is appended, like the "improvements" in the old Puritanical sermons. Now, either the moral conclusion would naturally be drawn by the attentive reader, or else the telling of the story, or the wording of the parable, is deficient in point and clearness. But there is no such deficiency in any of Mr. Lowell's poetical effusions of this class. The "Prometheus" is an instance of injuring the effect of an otherwise noble poem by too great prolixity. The conception of this piece is not only beautiful, but sublime; it is a Christian reproduction of the old myth, and, in general, is treated not only with high poetical beauty, but with a dignified elevation of moral feeling; but Prometheus is not characteristically represented. His soliloquy runs too far into minute details and ornamented expression, as if he were a gentleman a great deal more at his ease than he really was under the circumstances. The Prometheus of Æschylus utters lofty and audacious thoughts, in language of Titanic vastness and energy. Shelley treated a part of the fable with great affluence of poetical imagery and a heaven-defying boldness of thought. Goethe handled it with admirable

force and brevity. Lowell's "Prometheus" is masterly, and sustained at a high point of elegance and calm beauty ; but it is precisely this elegance and calm beauty which are out of keeping with the subject, considered with reference to the character and condition of the gigantic sufferer.

A good instance of the second fault, — that of the unnecessary enforcement of a moral application, — is in the delightfully written poem of "Rhæcus." All after the conclusion of the story, on page 125, were much better omitted ; that is, something more than two pages of very well expressed, but quite uncalled for, moralizing. Striking out all that, and some lines at the beginning, the poem is nearly faultless, as our readers will have an opportunity, by and by, of seeing.

Of Mr. Lowell's poetical style in general, the present volume has given us a high opinion. Not that it is by any means free from defects ; but it has the elements of a clear, vigorous, and pure form of expression. It shows the marks of a profound study of the English language, in the best authors ; and though the influence of particular writers is at times perceptible, his style is generally formed from the substantial materials taken from the heart of the language. For the most part, the constructions are clear, and the order of the words is free from those inversions which disfigure so much of the overstrained poetical composition of this age. Sometimes, though rarely, we find a studied quaintness of turn, a finical expression, or an extravagant simile or metaphor. Again, we are offended by words absurdly compounded, or used in a distorted sense. The termination of the imperfect tense, or passive participle, in *ed* is too frequently made an independent syllable. But all of these faults might easily be avoided. To justify these remarks, we shall copy a few examples.

"More *trembly* secret than Aurora's tear."

The meaning of this and of the following forced expression is too indistinct :

"Tremble *from the divine abyss* to cheer it.

So in the following lines,

"And what we win of earth's contentment slips
From our forlorn embraces not too slowly,"

the epithet *forlorn* conveys no very precise idea.

The metaphorical language in these lines is incongruous.

"A passing *shade of gall* would cloud his mien."

"*Soothing her bitter fetters* as she can."

To the following we hardly know what epithet to apply.

"Flooded, he seemed, with bright delicious pain,
As if a star had burst within his brain."

If he had written, *as if a bombshell had burst*, the expression would have been comparatively reasonable.

Again, what is "the starry energy of truth"? and what are the "days unruth"? "Wherewith it *wont* to soar;" *wont* is not now used as an imperfect tense, and to revive such an archaism is of questionable taste. "The weary *creep* of time"; as there is no such noun as *creep* in the English language, the expression is of course false.

Is there not a strange jumble of literal and figurative expression in this couplet?

"Watching and waiting there with lovelorn breast,
Around her *young dream's rudely scattered nest.*"

The meaning of "starlike" in the following connexion is not very obvious:

"that mother's heart whose instinct true,
Starlike, had battled down the triple gloom
Of sorrow, love, and death."

In the song of "Rosaline," a poem of much beauty, this strange couplet occurs:

"I waited *with a maddened grin*
To hear that voice all *icy thin.*"

There is not the least necessity of using such a specimen of American manufacture as that which we have marked in the following line.

"Through the *everydayness* of this work-day world."

We had marked many other examples of faulty expression, but it is unnecessary to copy more. They are all of that kind, which, though they mar the effect of the poems in which they occur, and should, therefore, be carefully avoided, are not inconsistent with the possession of all the essential attributes of a good poetical style. Mr. Lowell is in the right way to rid himself of them all.

We are now prepared to present our readers a few ex-

tracts from these poems, wherein the genius of Mr. Lowell has done itself justice, and which, in our judgment, will give him a high rank among the poets of America.

The first poem, "A Legend of Brittany," is written with great beauty and pathos ; but we prefer to leave it to be read as a whole. "Prometheus" ought to be short enough to quote entire ; but as it is not, we must give the conclusion only.

"Thou and all strength shall crumble, except Love,
By whom, and for whose glory, ye shall cease :
And, when thou art but a dim moaning heard
From out the pitiless glooms of Chaos, I
Shall be a power and a memory,
A name to fright all tyrants with, a light
Unsetting as the pole-star, a great voice
Heard in the breathless pauses of the fight
By truth and freedom ever waged with wrong,
Clear as a silver trumpet, to awake
Huge echoes that from age to age live on
In kindred spirits, giving them a sense
Of boundless power from boundless suffering wrung :
And many a glazing eye shall smile to see
The memory of my triumph, (for to meet
Wrong with endurance, and to overcome
The present with a heart that looks beyond,
Are triumph), like a prophet eagle, perch
Upon the sacred banner of the Right.
Evil springs up, and flowers, and bears no seed,
And feeds the green earth with its swift decay,
Leaving it richer for the growth of truth ;
But Good, once put in action or in thought,
Like a strong oak, doth from its boughs shed down
The ripe germs of a forest. Thou, weak god,
Shalt fade and be forgotten ! but this soul,
Fresh-living still in the serene abyss,
In every heaving shall partake, that grows
From heart to heart among the sons of men, —
As the ominous hum before the earthquake runs
Far through the Ægean from roused isle to isle, —
Foreboding wreck to palaces and shrines,
And mighty rents in many a cavernous error
That darkens the free light to man : — This heart,
Unscarred by thy grim vulture, as the truth
Grows but more lovely 'neath the beaks and claws

Of Harpies blind that fain would soil it, shall
In all the throbbing exultations share
That wait on freedom's triumphs, and in all
The glorious agonies of martyr-spirits, —
Sharp lightning-throes to split the jagged clouds
That veil the future, showing them the end, —
Pain's thorny crown for constancy and truth,
Girding the temples like a wreath of stars.
This is a thought, that, like the fabled laurel,
Makes my faith thunder-proof; and thy dread bolts
Fall on me like the silent flakes of snow
On the hoar brows of aged Caucasus;
But, O thought far more blissful, they can rend
This cloud of flesh, and make my soul a star!

“Unleash thy crouching thunders now, O Jove!
Free this high heart, which, a poor captive long,
Doth knock to be let forth, this heart which still,
In its invincible manhood, overtops
Thy puny godship, as this mountain doth
The pines that moss its roots. O, even now,
While from my peak of suffering I look down,
Beholding with a far-spread gush of hope
The sunrise of that Beauty, in whose face,
Shone all around with love, no man shall look
But straightway like a god he is uplift
Unto the throne long empty for his sake,
And clearly oft foreshadowed in wide dreams
By his free inward nature, which nor thou,
Nor any anarchy after thee, can bind
From working its great doom, — now, now set free
This essence, not to die, but to become
Part of that awful Presence which doth haunt
The palaces of tyrants, to hunt off,
With its grim eyes and fearful whisperings
And hideous sense of utter loneliness,
All hope of safety, all desire of peace,
All but the loathed forefeeling of blank death, —
Part of that spirit which doth ever brood
In patient calm on the unpilfered nest
Of man's deep heart, till mighty thoughts grow fledged
To sail with darkening shadow o'er the world,
Filling with dread such souls as dare not trust
In the unfailing energy of Good,
Until they swoop, and their pale quarry make

Of some o'erbloated wrong, — that spirit which
Scatters great hopes in the seed field of man,
Like acorns among grain, to grow and be
A roof for freedom in all coming time !

“ But no, this cannot be ; for ages yet,
In solitude unbroken, shall I hear
The angry Caspian to the Euxine shout,
And Euxine answer with a muffled roar,
On either side storming the giant walls
Of Caucasus with leagues of climbing foam,
(Less, from my height, than flakes of downy snow,)
That draw back baffled but to hurl again,
Snatched up in wrath and horrible turmoil,
Mountain on mountain, as the Titans erst,
My brethren, scaling the high seat of Jove,
Heaved Pelion upon Ossa's shoulders broad,
In vain emprise. The moon will come and go
With her monotonous vicissitude ;
Once beautiful, when I was free to walk
Among my fellows, and to interchange
The influence benign of loving eyes,
But now by aged use grown wearisome ; —
False thought ! most false ! for how could I endure
These crawling centuries of lonely woe
Unshamed by weak complaining, but for thee,
Loneliest, save me, of all created things,
Mild-eyed Astarte, my best comforter,
With thy pale smile of sad benignity ?

“ Year after year will pass away and seem
To me, in mine eternal agony,
But as the shadows of dumb summer-clouds,
Which I have watched so often darkening o'er
The vast Sarmatian plain, league-wide at first,
But, with still swiftmess, lessening on and on
Till cloud and shadow meet and mingle where
The gray horizon fades into the sky,
Far, far to northward. Yes, for ages yet
Must I lie here upon my altar huge,
A sacrifice for man. Sorrow will be,
As it hath been, his portion ; endless doom,
While the immortal with the mortal linked
Dreams of its wings and pines for what it dreams,
With upward yearn unceasing. Better so :

For wisdom is meek sorrow's patient child,
And empire over self, and all the deep
Strong charities that make men seem like gods ;
And love, that makes them be gods, from her breasts
Sucks in the milk that makes mankind one blood.
Good never comes unmixed, or so it seems,
Having two faces, as some images
Are carved, of foolish gods ; one face is ill ;
But one heart lies beneath, and that is good,
As are all hearts, when we explore their depths.
Therefore, great heart, bear up ! thou art but type
Of what all lofty spirits endure, that fain
Would win men back to strength and peace through love :
Each hath his lonely peak, and on each heart
Envy, or scorn, or hatred, tears lifelong
With vulture beak ; yet the high soul is left ;
And faith, which is but hope grown wise ; and love ;
And patience, which at last shall overcome."

We omit the beginning and the end of "Rhœcus," but give all that properly belong to the subject.

"A youth named Rhœcus, wandering in the wood,
Saw an old oak just trembling to its fall,
And, feeling pity of so fair a tree,
He propped its gray trunk with admiring care,
And with a thoughtless footstep loitered on.
But, as he turned, he heard a voice behind
That murmured 'Rhœcus !' 'T was as if the leaves,
Stirred by a passing breath, had murmured it,
And, while he paused bewildered, yet again
It murmured 'Rhœcus !' softer than a breeze.
He started and beheld with dizzy eyes
What seemed the substance of a happy dream
Stand there before him, spreading a warm glow
Within the green glooms of the shadowy oak.
It seemed a woman's shape, yet all too fair
To be a woman, and with eyes too meek
For any that were wont to mate with gods.
All naked like a goddess stood she there,
And like a goddess all too beautiful
To feel the guilt-born earthliness of shame.
'Rhœcus, I am the Dryad of this tree,'
Thus she began, dropping her low-toned words
Serene, and full, and clear, as drops of dew,
'And with it I am doomed to live and die ;

The rain and sunshine are my caterers,
Nor have I other bliss than simple life ;
Now ask me what thou wilt, that I can give,
And with a thankful joy it shall be thine.'

" Then Rhœcus, with a flutter at the heart,
Yet, by the prompting of such beauty, bold,
Answered : ' What is there that can satisfy
The endless craving of the soul but love ?
Give me thy love, or but the hope of that
Which must be evermore my spirit's goal.'
After a little pause she said again,
But with a glimpse of sadness in her tone,
' I give it, Rhœcus, though a perilous gift ;
An hour before the sunset meet me here.'
And straightway there was nothing he could see
But the green glooms beneath the shadowy oak,
And not a sound came to his straining ears
But the low trickling rustle of the leaves,
And far away upon an emerald slope
The falter of an idle shepherd's pipe.

" Now, in those days of simpleness and faith,
Men did not think that happy things were dreams
Because they overstepped the narrow bourne
Of likelihood, but reverently deemed
Nothing too wondrous or too beautiful
To be the guerdon of a daring heart.
So Rhœcus made no doubt that he was blest,
And all along unto the city's gate
Earth seemed to spring beneath him as he walked,
The clear, broad sky looked bluer than its wont,
And he could scarce believe he had not wings,
Such sunshine seemed to glitter through his veins
Instead of blood, so light he felt and strange.

" Young Rhœcus had a faithful heart enough,
But one that in the present dwelt too much,
And, taking with blithe welcome whatsoe'er
Chance gave of joy, was wholly bound in that,
Like the contented peasant of a vale,
Deemed it the world, and never looked beyond.
So, haply meeting in the afternoon
Some comrades who were playing at the dice,
He joined them and forgot all else beside.

"The dice were rattling at the merriest,
And Rhæcus, who had met but sorry luck,
Just laughed in triumph at a happy throw,
When through the room there hummed a yellow bee
That buzzed about his ear with down-dropped legs
As if to light. And Rhæcus laughed and said,
Feeling how red and flushed he was with loss,
'By Venus! does he take me for a rose?'
And brushed him off with rough, impatient hand.
But still the bee came back, and thrice again
Rhæcus did beat him off with growing wrath.
Then through the window flew the wounded bee,
And Rhæcus, tracking him with angry eyes,
Saw a sharp mountain-peak of Thessaly
Against the red disc of the setting sun, —
And instantly the blood sank from his heart,
As if its very walls had caved away.
Without a word he turned, and, rushing forth,
Ran madly through the city and the gate,
And o'er the plain, which now the wood's long shade,
By the low sun thrown forward broad and dim,
Darkened wellnigh unto the city's wall.

"Quite spent and out of breath he reached the tree,
And, listening fearfully, he heard once more
The low voice murmur 'Rhæcus!' close at hand:
Whereat he looked around him, but could see
Nought but the deepening glooms beneath the oak.
Then sighed the voice, 'O, Rhæcus! nevermore
Shalt thou behold me or by day or night,
Me, who would fain have blest thee with a love
More ripe and bounteous than ever yet
Filled up with nectar any mortal heart:
But thou didst scorn my humble messenger,
And sent'st him back to me with bruised wings.
We spirits only show to gentle eyes,
We ever ask an undivided love,
And he who scorns the least of Nature's works
Is thenceforth exiled and shut out from all.
Farewell! for thou canst never see me more.'

"Then Rhæcus beat his breast, and groaned aloud,
And cried, 'Be pitiful! forgive me yet
This once, and I shall never need it more!'
'Alas!' the voice returned, 't is thou art blind,

Not I unmerciful ; I can forgive,
 But have no skill to heal thy spirit's eyes ;
 Only the soul hath power o'er itself.
 With that again there murmured ' Nevermore !'
 And Rhæcus after heard no other sound,
 Except the rattling of the oak's crisp leaves,
 Like the long surf upon a distant shore,
 Raking the sea-worn pebbles up and down.
 The night had gathered round him : o'er the plain
 The city sparkled with its thousand lights,
 And sounds of revel fell upon his ear
 Harshly and like a curse ; above, the sky,
 With all its bright sublimity of stars,
 Deepened, and on his forehead smote the breeze :
 Beauty was all around him and delight,
 But from that eve he was alone on earth."

" A Glance behind the Curtain " is excellent in parts, but is a terribly protracted glance.

The " Chippewa Legend " is very good, except the *improvement*, which has no other fault but that of being unnecessary. One cant expression in the poem should be blotted out in the next edition ; " Old lies and shams." The affected writers have repeated the word *sham* so often, that no respectable author can use it safely for the next hundred years.

We have no great fondness for sentimentality in type. Much of this in the present volume would have been better omitted. *Subjective* feelings, to use the jargon of philosophical criticism, should be but rarely and reservedly expressed in books. The sonnets are the least successful pieces ; especially those addressed to Wordsworth, which, so far as they have any meaning at all, have an assuming one.

We close our extracts with the fine poem called " The Heritage."

" THE rich man's son inherits lands,
 And piles of brick, and stone, and gold,
 And he inherits soft, white hands,
 And tender flesh that fears the cold,
 Nor dares to wear a garment old ;
 A heritage, it seems to me,
 One scarce would wish to hold in fee.

" The rich man's son inherits cares ;
 The bank may break, the factory burn,
 A breath may burst his bubble shares,

And soft, white hands could hardly earn
A living that would serve his turn ;
A heritage, it seems to me,
One scarce would wish to hold in fee.

“ The rich man's son inherits wants,
His stomach craves for dainty fare ;
With sated heart, he hears the pants
Of toiling hinds with brown arms bare,
And wearies in his easychair ;
A heritage, it seems to me,
One scarce would wish to hold in fee.

“ What doth the poor man's son inherit ?
Stout muscles and a sinewy heart,
A hardy frame, a hardier spirit ;
King of two hands, he does his part
In every useful toil and art ;
A heritage, it seems to me,
A king might wish to hold in fee.

“ What doth the poor man's son inherit ?
Wishes o'erjoyed with humble things,
A rank adjudged by toilwon merit,
Content that from employment springs,
A heart that in his labor sings ;
A heritage, it seems to me,
A king might wish to hold in fee.

“ What doth the poor man's son inherit ?
A patience learned of being poor,
Courage, if sorrow come, to bear it,
A fellow-feeling that is sure
To make the outcast bless his door ;
A heritage, it seems to me,
A king might wish to hold in fee.

“ O, rich man's son ! there is a toil,
That with all others level stands ;
Large charity doth never soil,
But only whiten, soft, white hands, —
This is the best crop from thy lands ;
A heritage, it seems to me,
Worth being rich to hold in fee.

“ O, poor man's son ! scorn not thy state ;
There is worse weariness than thine,
In merely being rich and great ;

Toil only gives the soul to shine,
And makes rest fragrant and benign ;
A heritage, it seems to me,
Worth being poor to hold in fee.

“ Both, heirs to some six feet of sod,
Are equal in the earth at last ;
Both, children of the same dear God,
Prove title to your heirship vast
By record of a well-filled past ;
A heritage, it seems to me,
Well worth a life to hold in fee.”

We have endeavoured to do justice to the merits of this young and gifted poet, while we have pointed out, with perfect candor, the faults that still inhere in his poetical manner, and the dangerous influences to which his poetical genius is exposed. That he will soar above the spirit of *coteries* ; that he will reject the bad taste of cultivating singularities in thought and expression, and descend from the clouds of vague philosophy and Utopian reforms ; that he will brace his mind with strengthening knowledge in science, history, and social life ; and that he will thus create a noble sphere for the exercise of his fine powers, and give additional lustre to a name already crowned with the honors of professional, literary, and mercantile eminence ; is what we not only hope, but, in the faith of achievements already performed, confidently predict and believe.

ART. III. — *Report of the Land Agent of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, laid before the Legislature, January 10th, 1844.* By GEORGE W. COFFIN. 8vo. pp. 12.

In a former number of this Journal,* we devoted some attention to the forest trees of America, and took a passing notice of the lumberer ; † we propose, now, to give a brief

* *N. A. Review*, Number XCV.

† The necessity of introducing new words into a language grows out of the changes effected from time to time in the circumstances and pursuits of men. The use of the word *lumber* and its derivatives is peculiar to this

historical account of the forest lands of Maine, and to make a remark or two upon the timber trade of the United States generally.

Whoever is familiar with the narratives of the early voyagers to New England, will not need to be reminded of their glowing descriptions of the forests which everywhere encompassed their steps in this country. Gosnold was the first Englishman who came directly across the ocean to New England, and in the several records of his adventures on our "stern and rock-bound coast," where "the woods against a stormy sky, Their giant branches tossed," we are struck with the apt and pithy words that are used to express his admiration of the hills and meadows hedged round with stately groves. Thus, the country is "full of goodly woods," say Archer and Brereton, in their accounts of Gosnold's voyage; while in the tracts appended to Brereton, it is declared, that the trees will afford "tar, pitch, rosin, and turpentine, and soap-ashes, and will make masts for the greatest ships of the world," and "excellent timber of cedar, and boards for curious building." So, too, says the chronicler, there are kinds of wood fit "to be turned into small boxes for ladies and gentlemen." Waymouth, who came to New England in 1605, three years after Gosnold, saw "trees very great and tall," and the fir, "out of which issueth turpentine in so marvellous plenty, and so sweet, as our chirurgeon and others affirmed they never saw so good in England." Smith, the father of Virginia, who followed nine years after Waymouth, declares, that between Penobscot and Cape Cod, there were "more than two hundred isles, overgrown with good timber of divers sorts of wood;" that from Penobscot to Sagadahock,* were mountains and huge rocks covered "with all sorts of excellent

continent; but the peculiarities of the articles of trade and of the occupations which they denote are so marked, and the use of them is now so general here, that it would be a proof of affectation and folly, and an injury to the perspicuity of discourse, scrupulously to avoid and reject them. The "forester" or "woodman" of England is a very different person from the "lumberer" of Maine, and the latter ought, therefore, to possess a distinctive title. "Timber" is here applied only to the trunks of trees, and the beams and large joists which are formed from them; while "lumber" is the generic term, including not only all the kinds of timber, but the boards, shingles, clapboards, and other articles of trade manufactured from it.

* The Kennebec.

materials for building houses, boats, barques or ships," and immense trees to make "pitch, tar, masts, and yards," and "such beasts to hunt, that besides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their skins are so rich as may well recompense thy daily labor with a captain's pay."

The opinions of Christopher Levett, who built for himself a habitation in Maine in 1623 or 1624, who had been the king's wood-ward or forest officer for Somersetshire, and who, of course, looked upon the trees of "Aquamenticus," "Cape Porpas," and "Cape Manwagan," with a professional eye, are entitled to more consideration than those of any person who had preceded him in visiting the New World. We learn, that he landed at the Isles of Shoals, where — and at the moment of his arrival — he almost contemptuously remarks, that he did not "see one good timber tree." Proceeding easterly, it seems that his ideas of the country were formed with surprising accuracy, when it is considered, that he could not have penetrated far into the unbroken wilderness, but must have confined his explorations, principally, to the sea-coasts and the shores of the rivers. "I dare be bold to say," he reports to Buckingham, Surrey, and the other noblemen under whose commission he acted, "there may be ships as convenient there as in any place in the world, where I have been, and better cheap. As for crooked timber, and all other sorts whatsoever can be desired for such purpose, the world cannot afford better. Masts and yards of all sizes, there be also trees growing, whereof pitch, and tar is made;" and again, that "there is also much excellent timber for joiners and coopers; howsoever a worthy nobleman hath been abused, who sent over some to make pipe-staves; who, either for want of skill or industry, did no good. Yet I dare say no place in England can afford better timber for pipe-staves; than four several places which I have seen in that country."

Levett's general views of Maine, to which part of the country his observations in America were entirely confined, are, in the main, so accurate, that we cannot forbear annexing them to the quotations already made. They occur in his "Directions for all private persons that intend to go into New England to plant."

"That is a country," he quaintly says, "where none can live except he either labor himself, or be able to keep others to

labor for him. If a man have a wife and many small children, not to come there, except for every three loiterers, he have one worker ; which if he have, he may make a shift to live, and not starve. *If a man have but as many good laborers as loiterers, he shall live much better there than in any place I know.* If all be laborers, and no children, then let him not fear, but to do more good there in seven years than in England in twenty. Let as many plant (settle) together as may be, for you will find that very comfortable, profitable, and secure."

To the settlers who are now wending their way to the Aroostook, part of this compendious advice will be as useful as was the whole to those to whom it was addressed, more than two centuries ago. The territory of Maine has not had a good name ; but surely, that cannot be a bad soil from which to obtain subsistence, that will allow of one "loiterer" to every "laborer" ; and we may tell such as persist in their reproachful talk, as Levett told the cavillers of his day, "let wisdom judge ; for my desire is, that the saddle may be set on the right horse, and the ass be rid, and the knave punished either for discouraging or encouraging too much, whosoever he be." Her "coast be rocky, and thus affrightable," said Smith ; "but there is no kingdom," he justly added, "so fertile that hath not some part barren."

The forests which drew forth the high praises that are here quoted, have been the source of much dispute and litigation. Though the questions of grants and titles occupy hundreds of pages of documentary history and court records, we shall endeavour to convey to our readers, in a short space, some of their most important results and conclusions. Of the immense domains, embracing almost the half of our continent, which, in 1620, King James conferred upon those gentlemen of his court who, in popular language, are known as the "Council of Plymouth," Maine formed a part. Among the most distinguished members of this Council was Sir Ferdinando Gorges ; to whom, and to John Mason, the Council, two years after the date of their own patent, conveyed all the lands and "fishings" between the rivers Merrimack and Sagadahoc. Subsequently, and rapidly, other grants covered the same soil, and angry and endless contentions followed. But Gorges, bent on leaving his name in our annals, obtained of Charles the First a grant for himself, individually, of the territory be-

tween the Piscataqua and Sagadahock, and thence from the sea one hundred and twenty miles northward. These were the ancient limits of the "Province of Maine." Having now a sort of double title, Gorges might reasonably hope, that his rights were perfect, and that he might pursue his plans without interruption. But Massachusetts, on the one hand, insisted that her boundaries were narrowed by the grants to Mason and himself; while the Council, on the other, with inexcusable carelessness or dishonesty, continued to alienate the very soil which he held both from themselves and their common master. Thus he was harassed his life long, and went to his grave old and worn out with perplexities and the political sufferings and losses of a most troubled period. He was a soldier, and the tried friend of the Stuarts in their times of need — of which their reigns were full — and was plundered and imprisoned in their wars. He set his hopes of princely power and fortune on enterprises for the colonization of America, and as "Lord Palatine" of Maine, wasted many of his best years and a vast sum in endeavours for its settlement; but not one of his purposes was accomplished either for himself or his lineage. After his death, his son deemed his possessions in Maine of little or no worth, and took no pains to retain them, or to carry out his designs; and his grandson, to whom his right descended, gave to Massachusetts a full assignment and release for the insignificant consideration of twelve hundred and fifty pounds sterling; a sum less than one sixteenth of the amount which had been actually expended.

By the purchase from Ferdinando Gorges the younger, Massachusetts acquired only a part of Maine, as now constituted. France made pretensions to all the part lying east of the Penobscot, and the Duke of York to the part between the Penobscot and the Kennebec; nor was it until the reign of William and Mary, that disputes about boundaries were merged, and the St. Croix and Piscataqua became the acknowledged charter frontiers.

As already observed, the Council of Plymouth had trespassed upon the rights of Gorges, their own oldest grantee; and to ascertain and quiet the pretensions of the subsequent grantees, their heirs, and the claimants under them, was a task which Massachusetts could not shun, but which

she could hardly perform. Ruinous suits ensued, and titles to persons in possession, adverse to the claims of Massachusetts, were at length established for about two millions of acres. The principal grants thus held to be valid in themselves, or to which claims were relinquished, were as follows ; * That to Richard Vines and Thomas Oldham, of a tract on the west side of the Saco, from the sea eight miles up the river, and four miles wide ; † that of a tract of similar extent to Thomas Lewis and another person, on the east side of the same river ; ‡ that to Thomas Cammock, of five thousand acres at Black Point ; § that to John Dy, John Smith, and others, of a tract running from Cape Porpoise forty miles east, and forty miles into the country ; || that to the Plymouth Pilgrims, of fifteen miles on both sides of the Kennebec, without definite limits north and south ; ¶ that to Beauchamp and Leverett, of about thirty miles square on the west side of Penobscot River and Bay ; ** and that to Robert Alsworth and Giles Elbridge, of twelve thousand acres, and a hundred acres additional to each of the settlers whom they procured, at and in the vicinity of “ ancient Pemaquid.” ††

Besides the soil held under the Council's grants, the title to more than half a million of acres rests on Indian deeds. Of these titles, the oldest is that to Humphrey Chadbourne, of a considerable part of South Berwick, and that to one Boughton, of a part of Kittery. Of another part of the last named town, there was also a later conveyance to Thomas Spencer. On the Saco, two tracts depended on native covenants with Walter Philips, and four miles square within the limits of Lyman were alienated to Bush and Tarbell.

* It should be remarked, that in the grants here named, embracing, by a tolerably accurate calculation, 1,965,000 acres, some Indian titles which bordered on, or were intermixed with, those granted by the Council are included ; as are some others, that were given to claimants to make up ascertained or allowed deficiencies in these grants.

† Biddeford.

‡ Saco.

§ In Scarborough.

|| The “ Province of Lygonia.” This grant is in the towns of Falmouth, Westbrook, Cape Elizabeth, Kennebunk-Port, and the city of Portland.

¶ It was finally determined that Topsham and Woolwich should be regarded as south of the south line, and what are now Anson and Madison should be considered north of the north line.

** The “ Waldo Patent.” This tract passed into the hands of General Waldo, and a considerable part of it descended to General Knox, whose wife was the granddaughter of Waldo.

†† Parts of Bristol, Newcastle, and Nobleborough.

Under deeds from the same unquestionable proprietors, Francis Small acquired lands between the Great and Little Ossipee, and Small and Nicholas Shapleigh a part of Shapleigh. The most celebrated of all, however, is the "Pegypscot purchase," on the Androscoggin, the limits of which were as indefinite as they well could be ; from their vagueness grew contests which endured many years.* On the Kennebec, and along the sea-coast to Damariscotta, are still other lands which depend on Indian title, but each tract is small, and the aggregate is inconsiderable.

Of the French grants, which were many and extensive, covering much of the country between the Penobscot and the St. Croix, only one has been recognized, and that was considered valid more as a matter of favor than of right. It was confirmed by an act of Massachusetts, releasing about sixty thousand acres to the descendant of De la Motte Cadillac ; being all that remained unsold of a patent of Louis the Fourteenth, in 1691, to the ancestor of the claimant.† Within this last foothold of France, this relic of the proud Cadillac's seigniory, is the grave of Father du Thut, herald of the pious Madame de Guercheville in spreading the Catholic faith, and the first victim of the long and bloody strife between France and England for the mastery of the Western hemisphere. Here, too, Winthrop and his associates first gazed upon the shores which they came to people ; and the "Mount Marsel," which showed America to them, is yet a land-mark of voyagers to and from the home of their fathers.

On acquiring Maine, as it was in 1677, the date of Gorges's quitclaim, Massachusetts gave its inhabitants privileges which hardly differed from those possessed by its own people ; and not the least important of these, in their estimation, was that which exempted from rents and exactions of all sorts, save assessments for defence, all the lands which they had obtained of Gorges, of Massachusetts herself, and of their respective agents ; and also, all the streams and mill-

* The towns of Brunswick, Topsham, and Harpswell are within the lines which Hutchinson and others claimed (under the original grantee), in 1715, when they petitioned to have their title confirmed and these townships created. They purchased the year before, of an insolvent estate, for £ 100.

† Embraced in these 60,000 acres, are the whole of Trenton, a part of Sullivan, Ellsworth, Hancock, Eden, and Mount Desert, and the islands in front of them out to the main sea.

sites that might be granted thereafter. The fears of the lumberers, at the time of which we are speaking, lest, in changing their political connexion, they should lose a part of their prescriptive or legal rights to the forest, may be seen, as well from this stipulation, as from the fact, that on the union of New Hampshire with the mother of New England, some forty years before, it was made a condition, that their former and accustomed liberty of selling timber should not be restricted.

This meagre outline of the controversies consequent upon carelessly drawn grants and deeds must suffice. But we cannot leave this part of our subject without commending the indomitable spirit evinced by Massachusetts in her struggles to root Gorges and the Cavaliers of his planting out of Maine, and to put in their place the humbler but purer Roundheads of her own kindred. Had she faltered, when dukes and lords signed parchments that conveyed away her soil ; had she not sought to push her sovereignty over men and territories not originally her own ; had she not broken down French seigniories and English feoffdoms,—Maine, east of Gorges's eastern boundary, might have continued a part of the British empire to this hour. This opinion is given considerably, and not to round out a period. And whoever will consult the diplomacy of 1783, will learn that, *even as it was*, the British Commissioners contended for *that* boundary to divide the thirteen States from the Colonies which had remained true to the crown.

Soon after the purchase of Maine, Massachusetts lost her own charter ; and it was not among the least of the causes of Charles's anger against her, that she had bargained with Gorges's heir, and thwarted his design of procuring Maine for his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth. It throws light upon the feelings and transactions of the times, to mention here, that among the measures devised to keep back the threatened *quo warranto*, it was proposed to send the monarch "*two large masts aboard Capt. Peirce, thirty-four yards long, and the one thirty-six, and the other thirty-seven, inches diameter.*"

The new charter, procured of William and Mary, confirmed Massachusetts in her acquisitions east of the Piscataqua ; but it contained several restrictions which bore hard upon the interests under consideration. The most promi-

nent we shall briefly notice. And first, that instrument provided, that all pine trees, of the diameter of twenty-four inches at more than a foot from the ground, on lands not granted to private persons, should be reserved for masts for the royal navy ; and that, for cutting down any such tree without special leave, the offender should forfeit one hundred pounds sterling. This stipulation was the source of ceaseless disquiet, and it introduced, to guard the forests from depredation, an officer called the "Surveyor General of the King's woods." Between this functionary, who enjoyed a high salary, considerable perquisites, and great power, and the lumberers, there was no love. The officials of the day, who were now of royal appointment, and not, as under the old charter, elected by the people, generally ranged themselves on the side of the surveyors ; while the House, as commonly, opposed their doings, and countenanced the popular clamors against them. The first surveyor-general was John Bridges, or Bridger, who came with Lord Bellamont, in 1698 ; his jurisdiction embraced the King's woods in all New England. David Dunbar, a reduced colonel in the army, a man poor, proud, deeply in debt, and as rapacious as the fabled harpy, succeeded him in 1729. Dunbar was a scoundrel, and laid the foundation — wickedly, as we believe — of land quarrels in Maine, which lasted sixty years, and were hushed then only by legislative interference. He sold out his surveyorship to Governor Benning Wentworth, of New Hampshire, in 1743, for £ 2000. Wentworth had been a large dealer in lumber, and was now ruined, from a timber contract with an agent of the government of Spain. His nephew, Governor John Wentworth, was appointed to his place and emoluments in 1767, and, with the pomp and show of the dignitaries of by-gone days, traversed the country, from South Carolina — where he landed on coming from England — to his own home in New Hampshire, recording his commission in every Colony through which he passed.

We hear little of the course of conduct pursued by the Wentworths, though it is said, that Benning neglected his duty, and suffered his deputies to be remiss in theirs, and to "waste the King's timber." But it stands charged upon Bridges, that he connived at trespasses, and took hush-money. Against Dunbar, it is alleged that, attended with

armed men, he turned lumberers from their homes, seized their timber, burned their buildings, and threatened them with imprisonment. His ways and airs provoked the rough men whom he watched and thwarted quite as much as the losses which he caused them ; and he seldom went to a saw-mill to place the " King's mark " upon boards suspected or known to be made of interdicted trees, without quarrelling with the mill-men. Sometimes, threats of extreme violence passed on both sides ; and, in the forest, the "*loggers*" gave him "*swamp-law*" as often as they dared, or as his officious zeal aggravated them beyond endurance. " Kill me ; " said Paul Gerrish, " but mark or touch that pile, and you die yourself, here, and instantly ! " The craven Dunbar sneaked away. On another occasion, some lumberers, in the garb of Indians, stove the hull and cut and destroyed the sails and cordage of his boat, and beat his men most cruelly. Excitement ran high ; the Council was summoned, and a proclamation issued ; but the offenders so kept their secret, or had so many friends, that they were never discovered. We finish with Dunbar, by saying, that, in the early part of his career, the Governor of Massachusetts was solicited to remove him, though the act should require a military force.

As already remarked, the controversies introduced by the provision in the charter, intended to preserve spars for the royal navy, were not confined to the woods or the mills, but were carried to the halls of legislation, and even to the Board of Trade in England. There seemed, indeed, in the judgment of the Colonial governors, no way for them to please their royal master more, than by discoursing to the House of Representatives about the care they should exercise over " mast-trees," and about the severity with which the statute-book should provide against trespassers ; while the House, on the other hand, appeared to be best satisfied whenever they could manage to postpone, or get rid altogether of such unwelcome subjects. Prerogative and the popular sentiment never agreed. Discussions about forests again and again ended in wrangles. Friendships were broken up, and enmities created for life. This is emphatically true of Shute's administration, when Cooke, the Counsellor of Sagadahock, and the champion of the " fierce democracy," — as his father had been before him, — involved the whole government of the Colony in disputes, which, in the end, drove the Governor home to Eng-

land. And so, subsequently, a forged letter, probably written by trespassers or their friends, and transmitted to Sir Charles Wager, first lord of the Admiralty, charging Governor Belcher with conniving with trespassers, though seemingly aiding that "Irish dog of a Dunbar," did its intended work. Shirley, his successor, when he pressed upon the House the necessity of further enactments to protect the masts and spars for the royal navy, and to punish those who obstructed or annoyed the royal agents, was tartly told, in substance, by that body: "Our laws are sufficient; we have done our duty; let the crown officers do theirs." Hutchinson, for a like call upon the House, was in like manner reminded, in terms hardly more civil, that there were already charter and statute penalties for trespassers, a surveyor-general and deputies, and courts of law; and that, provided with these, he must look to the pines "twenty-four inches in diameter, upwards of twelve inches from the ground," for himself. The means for dealing with offenders, it must be confessed, were ample; the crown could try them in the Court of Admiralty, where there was no jury; upon conviction for a common trespass, a fine of £100 could be imposed; and for the additional misdeed of plundering the interdicted trees under a painted or disguised face, twenty lashes could be laid on the culprit's back; while, more than all, convictions could be had upon probable guilt, unless the accused would, on oath, declare his innocence.

But there was no such thing as enforcing laws, when it was the popular impression, that the woods were "the gifts as well as the growth of nature"; and that the king's claim to them was merely "nominal" at the most. The provision in the charter was unwise. To reserve to the crown a thousand times as many trees as it could ever require, and to allow all to decay that were not actually used, was absurd. A stipulation, that the wilderness should be under the care of the Colonial government, and that the government should furnish annually all the masts needed by the royal navy, would have been far better. But the charter, nevertheless, ought to have been respected, while the servants of the king maintained Colonial rights inviolate. As it was, we can easily imagine that the woodman, when rid, by the Revolution, of the presence of surveyor-generals and their deputies, exulted as heartily as did the peasant of France, when the outbreak

there abolished forest laws somewhat dissimilar, but equally obnoxious.

The troubles which we have enumerated, the disputes which grew out of the question, whether, as the territories purchased of Gorges had never reverted to the crown, the surveyor-general's duty did, in fact, require him to mark and protect the mast-trees within its limits, and especially the charter inhibition of grants east of the Kennebec without the king's consent, kept out settlers, held titles in suspense, and compelled most of the few occupants of the soil to earn their bread by getting and transporting lumber. As far down as 1719, no man of the Saxon race had a habitation from Georgetown to Annapolis. Fifteen years later, there were not more than nine thousand people of European origin between the Piscataqua and the St. Croix, and thence northerly to the dividing of the waters on the "highlands," where royalty last contended for the soil of Maine. In truth, not a grant was made beyond the Penobscot before the year 1762; and Machias, though the oldest town on the French claim, was not alienated by Massachusetts before 1770, and had no corporate existence until after the close of the Revolution. In 1790, there were but three resident clergymen from the last named river to the frontier.

We have seen, that Massachusetts never owned the entire face of Maine, but on the contrary, while her jurisdiction was extended from time to time, till it embraced the whole area, her title to the property of the soil was cumbered with ancient grants, patents, and Indian deeds, to the amount of about two and a half millions of acres. Between the date of the charter of William and Mary and the peace of 1783, Massachusetts herself disposed of one and one third millions more; so that, when she broke her Colonial bonds, nearly four millions of acres were in other hands. The creation of a land-office and the making of surveys, to bring into market her now entirely unincumbered domains, were among the first uses which she made of her newly acquired sovereignty. In debt, poor, distressed even, from the losses and sacrifices of a struggle, which she did more than any of her sister Colonies to bring on, and as much as any to carry forward to a successful issue, she looked to these domains for partial relief. Purchasers, however, came forward but slowly; and, in 1786, fifty townships between the Penob-

scot and St. Croix were proposed to be sold by lottery. These townships were represented by twenty-seven hundred and twenty tickets, at £ 60 each, payable partly in specie, and partly in evidences of the public debt. The plan did not succeed as they hoped, and only four hundred and thirty-seven tickets were sold, producing hardly one fifth of the sum that had been anticipated. By the year 1795, twelve years after the peace, Massachusetts had parted with more than three and a half millions of acres, or one hundred and fifty townships ; but of this quantity, a great part was absorbed by liberal grants to quiet settlers, remunerate public services and sufferings, and endow literary institutions. The aggregate of sales and grants from 1783 to 1820, was a little more than five and a half millions of acres ; of these, one and one tenth millions had been conveyed without pecuniary consideration. The entire sum of money which found its way into the treasury, from the recognition of American independence to the creation of Maine into a State, — a period of thirty-five years, — was but \$ 924,000. From that time to January of the present year, she received the additional amount of \$ 972,000, or \$ 1,896,000 in the whole. * At the separation, the quantity of land which remained ungranted and unsold, and which, by the terms of that event, was to be divided between the two States, appears, from the best *data* we can obtain, to have been full fourteen millions of acres.†

To discuss the policy which has been pursued by Maine and Massachusetts, since the period at which we have now arrived, would require a space which we cannot now afford.‡

* The statement for the first period is derived from statistics collected by the late Moses Greenleaf, Esq., and does not include interest on the notes given by purchasers who bought lands on credit. The amount of receipts from 1820 to 1844, we obtain from official sources.

† A Report of a Committee of the Legislature, in 1814, estimates a million more *then*. From 1814 to 1820, the aggregate of sales was not two hundred thousand acres, and the allowance of eight hundred thousand is sufficiently liberal.

‡ Since this was written, Mr. Coffin has kindly furnished us with the following synopsis of the operations of the Land Office of that State from 1820 to the close of 1843.

Number of acres of land sold since the separation of Maine from Massachusetts,	1,562,860
Number of acres granted to colleges, academies, and individuals,	510,546
Total number of acres alienated,	2,073,406

The subject might well form an article of itself. But before we proceed, we must record our dissent from the charge sometimes made, that the course of Massachusetts towards Maine, in the management of the lands, has been illiberal. Official documents disprove the imputation. Of the one and one tenth millions of acres given away, the colleges, academies, bridges, and sufferers of Maine received two thousand acres more than the half. In "An appeal to the people of Maine on the question of separation," a tract of some pretensions in its day, the selling of lands to "speculators," which, as the writer truly alleges, had been the practice, is reprobated; and a "liberal and enlightened" plan of procedure, which had "in vain been urged" upon the Commonwealth as then constituted, is shadowed forth. To this, we mourn while we reply, that the "speculators" in these *our* times, unlike those bred up in the past, left their accustomed walks in life and trusted their fortunes, and sometimes

Amount received for lands sold,		\$ 965,853 18
" " timber sold,		103,671 48
" " commutation of duties,		11,213 98
		<u>\$ 1,080,738 64</u>
Amount paid for surveys, explorations, &c.,	\$ 38,871 58	
" " roads, clearing streams, &c.,	51,359 25	
" " current expenses of Land office,	28,977 85	
	<u>\$ 119,208 68</u>	
Deduct amount paid from treasury for warrants,	10,683 60	
		<u>108,525 08</u>
Balance, net, paid into the Treasury,		\$ 972,213 56

Mr. Coffin gives a statement, also, of the average prices received for lands, from which it appears, that the average from January, 1785, to February, 1820, was 20½ cents per acre; from 1820 to 1826, 14½ cents; from 1827 to 1829, 44½ cents; and, for the subsequent years, as follows;

1831,	30 cents.	1836,	\$ 2.09½.	1840,	\$ 1.52½.
1832,	27½ "	1837,	0.74.	1841,	1.31½.
1833,	58½ "	1838,	2.21.	1842,	1.62½.
1834,	79½ "	1839,	2.21.	1843,	1.32½.
1835,	\$ 2.12½.				

Of the variations in price, he remarks, that they are owing to "the fact of there being, in some years, a larger quantity of valuable lands sold, and other years of inferior" quality. Further, that from "the excessive demand for lands in 1835 and 1836, and during the sales down to 1840," the price "was augmented beyond their intrinsic value;" and that, since that period, "the sales have approached their true" worth.

their morals, on the throw for a township. And besides, speculations, though usually retarding settlements, are less pernicious at some periods than at others. Lands deemed unfit for culture, as were those of Maine, may be in the hands of any body with little harm, until the prevalent opinion of their value changes. Usher, whom Massachusetts employed to bargain with Gorges for a province, was a great land dealer on his own account ; but he and all of his generation coveted pine trees, not the ground on which they grew. Coram — who, after his return to England, founded the Foundling Hospital of London — and his associates did, indeed, look to tillage ; but their mad scheme was for a vast joint stock company, to raise enough of flax and hemp for all the royal navy.

Waldo exclaimed, “ Here is my bound,” and dropped dead on the site of a city.* The leaden plate that Pownall placed there to mark the spot, was buried in soil which men abandoned in search of farms on the Miami, years after the opening of the present century. Gardiner, a loyalist of our Revolution, whose hundred thousand acres on the Kennebec were confiscated and sold, but restored to his heirs, hardly knew, that men would ever buy and sell these acres for wheat fields and orchards. And when Bingham bought “ the two millions,” although men began to learn that they could live by the plough within the bounds of Gorges’s patent, few would attempt cultivation east of it ; and probably none foresaw, that the valley of the St. Croix was destined to produce the finest potatoes and other vegetable roots in the whole Union.

Narrow views existed elsewhere. When Macomb acquired more than three millions of acres in New York, for a price scarcely equal to seven cents the acre, his clamorous and disappointed opponents failed in the attempt to press through the legislature a resolution condemnatory of the sale. And why ? These lands were scarcely thought of for husbandry, and Clinton’s plan of bringing the waters of Lake Erie to the Hudson was ridiculed and scouted full twenty years afterwards. Nor is this all. Monarchies favor

* Within or opposite Bangor, then the hunting grounds of savages. The “ Waldo Patent ” perpetuates his name. He used the exact words quoted in the text, supposing that he stood on a limit of his grant. Governor Pownall and a considerable party of armed men were with him.

great landed estates ; the nearer we go back, therefore, to the era of colonial submission, the less should we wonder at the prevalence of large patent rights, or the desire for them. The greatest names in our history belong to men who sought to own or control large tracts of country ; and Franklin tasked his powers to the utmost to answer the minister who opposed a large grant on the Ohio.* Mason, Lee, and Mercer were men dear to Virginia, and Washington is dear to the world ; and they all stand in our annals connected, more or less, with immense land projects. We are to judge the great operations in land of the past by what existed in the past, rather than by the changed wants, circumstances, and opinions of the present times.

Although all the New England colonies derived wealth from their forests, none of them, we think, pursued the trade in lumber for the same ends, or with the same results, as Maine. In the one case, to cut off the trees was to open lands to husbandry ; but in the other, the "hewers of wood" continued in the same hopeless bondage to axes and saws, generation after generation, and almost from century to century. The fathers of Plymouth shipped off clapboards within three years of their coming. The first notorious pilferer in "the Massachusetts" was a lumber thief, and though he was not exactly hanged, he was doomed to give up all his estate to those whom he had plundered, to be whipped, to be bound to service for three years, and to be at the disposal of the court at the expiration of his bondage. Almost the first conflagration at Plymouth that we read of, was that of a house "made all of clap-boards." This branch of industry advanced so rapidly, that a trade was opened between the northern Colonies and the West Indies as early as 1641 ; and in a tract called "New England's First Fruits," published in London two years afterwards, "clapboards, hoops, pipe-staves, and masts" are enumerated among the staple commodities which "fetch money from other parts." But the forests in some parts of the country soon gave out ; and so much alarm was felt, and Plymouth Colony became so "straitened for building-timber," that within half a century after the landing, certain kinds of lumber were not al-

* Mr. Sparks thinks, that Franklin's reply to Lord Hillsborough "is one of the ablest efforts of his pen." *Franklin's Works*, Vol. IV. p. 233.

lowed to be exported, except conditionally. In New Hampshire, however, the trade in timber was prosecuted with great zeal, during a great part of the period which intervened between the first and last hours of submission to the crown. Taxes were paid in boards and staves, at certain rates ; and parcels of the different kinds of marketable wood, at one time, passed from man to man almost as currently as the king's coin, or the pine-tree shilling pieces of the old Commonwealth.

The action of parliament with regard to taxing lumber, admitting it free, or even encouraging its exportation by bounties, was eagerly watched. The mother country pursued all these courses at different times, and gave satisfaction, or created discontent, among the dealers in the article, as changes occurred in her policy ; just as she does now, with those Colonial possessions which yet remain to her. Boston was the great mart, and the centre to which the proceeds of all mercantile operations tended. Besides the extensive business done there in shipments of lumber to the West Indies and Europe, much timber was used for the building of vessels for sale in the ports of England. Thus, there were in Boston, at one time, no less than twenty-seven ship-yards ; at one of which twelve vessels were built, and from all of which sixty were launched in a single year. The Colonial merchants of the days of which we are speaking, like those of the present Colonies, suffered immense losses on ships built and sent to England on their account ; such "remittances" selling at prices less than cost, by twenty, and even forty, *per cent.*, during the seasons of commercial depression, or an overstocked market.

The "mast ships" at the North, like the "tobacco ships" at the South, were the common, and oftentimes the only, means for crossing the ocean ; and royal governors and other high personages were occasionally compelled to embark in them. In these clumsy, ill-shapen vessels, also, went ladies and lovers to visit friends and see sights in that distant land, which some Americans yet call "home." Merchandise, fashions, and the last novel had a slow voyage back ; but men and maidens were models of patience, and the arrival of the eleven weeks "master" gave as much joy when all was safe, as does that of the eleven days steamer now. In port, while loading, the "mast ships were objects

of interest, and their decks and cabins the scenes of hilarity and mirth. We hear of illuminations, and firings of cannon, of frolics and feasts. They brought news of victories achieved by British arms, of some peace concluded, or some act repealed which bore hard upon Colonial industry, or hurt Colonial pride. When ready for sea, if enemies of the crown hovered on the coast, vessels of war were ready to give them safe convoy ; and the days of departures were seasons of excitement, busy preparation, and sad leave-taking.

The mast trade was confined to England ; and the transportation of spars thither, and of the sawed and shaved woods required by the planter, to islands in the West Indies possessed by the British crown, were about the only lawful modes of exporting lumber for a long period. By the statute book, the king's mark was as much to be dreaded by the mariner and the owner of the vessel, as by the "logger" and the "mill-man." But the revenue officers caused less fear than the surveyors of the woods, until fleets and armies were employed to aid them ; when the interdicted trade with the French and Spanish islands was nearly, if not entirely, broken up. No enactments of the mother country operated to keep down Northern industry so effectually, poorly as they were obeyed, as the navigation and trade laws ; and on none did they bear more severely than upon that portion of the people whose position or necessities left them no choice of employments. There were some — nor were they few — who were obliged to work up trees into marketable shapes, or starve. Included with these were the inhabitants of the coast, the mariners, and the fishermen. The interests of all these classes were identical ; and to them, the maritime policy of the government was cruel in the extreme ; since it robbed unremitting toil of half of its reward. Lumber and fish were inseparable companions in every adventure to the Caribbean sea. Enterprises to get either were hazardous, at the best ; and, as practical men can readily perceive, all who engaged in obtaining them were obliged then, as they are now, to seek different markets ; so that, to shut some marts, when access to all would barely remunerate the adventurers, was, in effect, to close the whole. These employments were among the most difficult and severe in the whole round of human pursuits ; and attempts to alleviate the burdens of

oppressive parliamentary legislation upon both were made in Massachusetts, long before a whisper of discontent was elsewhere uttered in America. To the discussions on the one, we have already attended ; a notice of the other does not come within our present purpose. These discussions had taken fast hold of the public mind, and when Otis at length spoke out, thousands, who never heard or read his reasonings, and might not have felt their force, if they had, were ready, at the first call, to clear the woods, and docks, and warehouses of the "swarms of officers" who "harassed" them, and "eat out their substance." England lost the affection of the North full a generation before she alienated the South. Free labor—inexcusable in this—began with sacking houses, overturning public offices, and emptying tar barrels and pillow cases upon the heads of its victims ; and when the skill and high intellect which were enlisted in its cause, and which vainly strove to moderate its excesses, failed to obtain a peaceable redress of the wrong, and were driven either to abandon the object, or to combine and wield the strength of those who were engaged in pursuing it, these men rallied upon the field, and embarked upon the sea, to retire from neither until the very frame-work of the Colonial system was torn away. To say, as some do, that points of "abstract liberty" severed the British empire, is to babble like modern politicians. "Abstractions," indeed ! Which of the twenty-nine acts of parliament touched so much as the "southwest side of a hair" of an "abstraction" ? These acts inhibited "labor." They forbade the use of water-falls, the erecting of machinery, of looms and spindles, and the working of wool and iron ; they set the king's arrow upon trees that rotted in the forest ; they shut out markets for boards and fish, and seized sugar and molasses, and the vessels in which these articles were carried ; and they defined the limitless ocean as but a narrow pathway to such of the lands that it embosoms, as wore the British flag. The revolution was created to release labor from these restrictions. And yet the favorers of "abstractions" ask—nay, insist—that labor shall resume its broken bonds !

Such are the opinions, at least, that we have formed on the questions upon which, among the mass of the people, the contest hinged ; which finally united persons of every avocation in life in an endeavour to get rid of prohibitions,

that remonstrance could not repeal, or even humanize. There are two or three incidents, which, as they illustrate the remarks just made, and belong to our subject, we cannot forbear to mention. They show, that, though almost too remote and scattered for union and concert, the woodmen were not laggards in the irregular strifes with which the war commenced.

A gentleman of Boston, whose wife and daughter were at Machias among their friends, obtained leave of Admiral Graves, soon after the affair at Lexington, to visit them, and also to carry such supplies as might be needed at that distant settlement, on condition of returning with his vessel to Boston, — then in possession of the royal troops, and deeply distressed for fuel, — with a load of wood and lumber. But he was to be accompanied by the British schooner *Margranetto*, armed with four light guns, and fourteen swivels, and under command of midshipman Moir, a kinsman of the Admiral. The passage was safely made, and the lumberers, after consultation, and in view of their necessities, agreed that the lading of articles promised for the King's troops might be permitted; but the boldest among them determined, also, that the *Margranetto** should become their prize. Embarking in a coaster and a sloop, and arming themselves with such weapons as were within reach, among which were the tools of their calling, they proceeded on their perilous enterprise. A sharp conflict ensued; Moir received a mortal wound, and about twenty others of both parties were killed or wounded. But success crowned the attempt; the victors received the thanks of the Provincial Congress, and commissions to cruise and capture under their authority. This brilliant little affair gave much joy, and was, undoubtedly, "the Lexington of the seas," or first naval action, that occurred in the struggle for freedom.

In the autumn of the same year, Falmouth, the great mast and timber mart of Maine, was laid in ashes; and, singularly enough, its destruction grew out of matters directly

* Cooper says "Margaretta." He relates the affair at some length, and though his account differs in some particulars from that derived from inhabitants of Machias, it may still be correct. He says of it, that it was "the first blow struck on the water, after the war of the American Revolution had actually commenced," — thus fully sustaining the remarks in the text; indeed, the words "Lexington of the seas" are quoted from him.

connected with its chief business. Coulson,* a loyalist merchant there, having difficulties with the Whig authorities, about the rigging and fitting for sea a "mast ship" which he had built, applied to Mowatt, commander of the royal armed ship *Canceau*, for protection, which was afforded. Subsequently, he attempted to load his vessel; but the masts and timber, which he had procured for the purpose, were taken away, and towed to places to which he dared not go to recover them. Various other acts, interfering with his design, occurred in the course of the quarrel; and the result was, that Mowatt burned the dwellings, and most of the wharves and vessels, of that busy place. "Tell the people of Falmouth," said Admiral Graves to Philip Crandall, "that unless they allow Coulson to load, I will send a ship, or ships, and beat the town down about their ears." History will bear record that this infamous threat was fulfilled to the letter.† After observing, that the lumberers of Winslow, on the Kennebec, were Whigs almost to a man, and that, being destitute of money, they voted "one hundred and twenty-five thousand shingles, and ten thousand clapboards, to purchase a town stock of ammunition," we pass to another topic.

The region of the United States, where tar is produced and exported, is now very distant from New England; but its manufacture at the North was once an object of much attention. In the narratives of the early voyagers of whom we have spoken, it will be recollected, that trees, which afforded the substances now known in commerce as *naval-stores*, are mentioned as being abundant; and such was undoubtedly the fact. Abuses in the making of tar existed at Plymouth before 1670, as in that year the town voted, that none but townsmen, whose names were recorded, should

* Coulson himself, Pazan, another merchant, Wiswall, the Episcopal clergyman, and Pote and Wyer, ship-masters, who were his friends on this emergency, all abandoned the country, and are all named in the Massachusetts proscription act of 1778, which punished the first return of loyalist refugees with transportation, and the second with death.

† In the documents of the times, this affair is called "Thompson's war." Thompson belonged to Brunswick. He came to Falmouth with a party of about fifty men. They bore a small spruce tree for a standard, and each one wore a spruce bough in his hat. But for the injudicious movements of this party, whose badges marked their calling, Falmouth might not have been given to the flames.

be allowed to use its pines for the purpose ; and that persons who violated the vote should forfeit both the tar and the raw material in their possession. In New Hampshire, where, as it seems, a company attempted to confine the manufacture to themselves, and provided a large number of trees which were destroyed by unknown hands, pines suitable for tar were protected by law, and tar itself was received, at a stipulated price, in payment of taxes. The admixture of sand and other impurities caused an act of parliament, and a call upon the Colonial authorities to coöperate in putting an end to frauds. But the subject became so much involved with the controversies that already existed between the officers of the crown and the representatives of the people, that the dishonest makers were left to pursue their evil practices. The business gradually declined, and at length was entirely suspended. It is now almost wholly confined to North Carolina. Of the 619,000 barrels of tar, pitch, turpentine, and rosin, manufactured in the United States in 1840, upwards of 593,000 barrels were made in that State.

Some account of saw-mills may now claim our attention. The English gentleman who introduced the use of mahogany, by causing a candle-box to be made of it, gave the world a great luxury ; but he who invented the saw-mill performed an act far more serviceable. A mahogany tree, when in logs, has been sold for nearly fifteen thousand dollars ;* a pine, which will produce a hundredth part of that sum, in the most distant market, is of rare size and quality ; but to the mass of mankind, it is more valuable than the other, because it is, what that is not, a necessary of life. The sawing of trees by machinery is not, probably, of remote origin. The first saw-mill of which we have any knowledge was erected at Madeira, in the year 1420 ; and we hear of another at Breslau, seven years later ; but their multiplication in

* The highest price that we have known to be paid in this country, was at about the rate of five thousand dollars for a tree in log ; the one referred to in the text was purchased for £ 3000, in England, by a celebrated pianoforte manufacturer. Of the pine, a plank nearly six feet in width, made from a tree which grew on the estate of the Duke of Gordon, is preserved in that nobleman's castle as a curiosity. In Maine, pines six feet in diameter near the ground have sometimes been found, while those of four feet diameter are not uncommon.

different parts of Europe appears to have proceeded slowly. A mill of this description was built near London, in 1633; but it was demolished soon afterwards, that it might not be a means of depriving the poor of employment. About a century later, a branch of the York Building Company made large purchases of pine timber, erected mills, and introduced various improvements in the manufacture and transportation of lumber. But the popular feeling against machine-saws was still strong. A saw-mill set up at Limehouse, near the year 1768, was destroyed by a mob. The first built in New England — and very likely in America — was at “Agamentico,”* in Maine, in 1623, or the year following, under the direction of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. “I sent over my son,” says the Lord Palatine, “and my nephew, Capt. William Gorges, who had been my lieutenant in the fort of Plymouth, with some other craftsmen, for the building of houses and erecting of saw-mills.” The next, probably, were on the Piscataqua, as the settlers there had one or more in motion as early as 1630; at which time, there were no grist-mills, and the lumberers procured their bread-stuffs prepared for baking, either from England or Virginia. The first mill in Massachusetts seems to have been that on the Neponset, in Dorchester, in 1633; but whether it was built for grinding or sawing cannot be ascertained. The earliest for sawing, in the colony of Plymouth, we suppose to have been on the Herring brook, Scituate, erected in 1656, and destroyed twenty years afterwards by the Indians. There was one on the Saco, as soon as the year 1653, and one on Mill river, Taunton, six years afterwards. By the year 1681, there was a second in Plymouth Colony, at Swansea; and in 1685, as many as four were in operation at Cape Porpoise, Maine. Of those in Maine at more recent dates, we may mention mills on the Androscoggin, at Brunswick, in 1716; at Damariscotta, under grants from the hated Dunbar, in 1730; a mill at Bucksport, on the Penobscot, in 1764; and several on the different branches of the Machias, before the capture of the *Margranetto*, in 1775.†

* The ancient name of York.

† The first on the Machias was undoubtedly as early as 1763, and within a year after the first grant of land and mill-sites east of the Penobscot.

The curious terms annexed to "libertie" to make boards and planks by water power, in the olden time, are well worth a moment's attention. In the grant of the "townsmen of Saco" to Roger Spencer, it was stipulated, that he should build his mill within a year, that all the "townsmen should have bordes twelve pence in a hundred cheaper than any stranger," and that the townsmen who would "worke" in erecting the mill "as cheap as a stranger," should have the preference. In a subsequent grant to another person, much the same conditions are imposed, and the further one, that the grantee should buy his provisions of townsmen at "price current," rather than of others. The conditions required by the people of Scituate, in good "old Plymouth," we will give as they stand upon the record.

"At a full town meeting of the town of Scituate, November 10th, 1656, free liberty was this day granted to any man or men of the town to set up a saw-mill upon the third herring brook, as near the North River as conveniently it may be, on these conditions, namely. That in case any of the townsmen do bring any timber into the mill to be sawed, the owners of the mill shall saw it, whether it be for boards or plank, before they saw any of their own timber, and they are to have the one half for sawing of the other half. And in case any man of the town, that doth not bring any timber to the mill to be sawed, shall want any boards for his own particular use, the owner of the mill shall sell him boards for his own use, so many as he shall need, for the country pay, at three shillings and six pence an hundred inch sawn; but in case the men of the town do not supply the mill with timber to keep it at work, the owners of the mill shall have liberty to make use of any timber upon the common to saw for their benefit. The said saw-mill to be built within three months from this date; otherwise, this order to be void."

At Taunton, on the proposal to erect a mill there, liberty was given on the condition that it "be not found hurtful to the grist-mill." At Cape Porpoise, a town meeting gave the right to set up a saw, provided it was done "within sixteen months, unless prevented by war"; and the applicant furnished his townsmen with lumber for their own use, at "twelve pence the hundred under price current." Another person, at the same place, was required to pay "forty shillings rent as a

tax to support Fort Loyal, at Falmouth" ; and a third had his request granted, by paying "a yearly rent of fifty shillings," and allowing "the inhabitants to saw their own boards at the halves."

A word or two of some of the prominent mill owners of Maine, and we conclude our ante-revolutionary memoranda. Major William Phillips, of Boston, removed to the Saco about the year 1660, and became a speculator in timber lands, lumberer, and mill proprietor. John Alden — son of the *Mayflower* pilgrim of the same name, and of the arch Priscilla Mullen, whom Miles Standish desired for a wife — married his daughter, passed some time at Saco, and was interested in similar adventures. Another large land and mill owner on the same river was Sir William Pepperell, who commanded the expedition against Louisbourg, and was the only Baronet of New England birth during the whole of our Colonial history. His usual dress, we are told, was of scarlet cloth trimmed with gold lace ; those who are acquainted with the peculiarities of the rough men with whom his business required him to mingle, can easily fancy their queer sayings, at seeing one of as humble origin as themselves thus richly appareled.*

At the Damariscotta, was William Vaughan, a son of a lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, and, as lieutenant-colonel, associated with Sir William in the enterprise just referred to, and one of the claimants of the honor of designing it. Vaughan's title to lands and mill-sites was derived from the surveyor-general, Dunbar. Vaughan was a bold projector, and brave, perhaps to rashness. He died in England, while urging his claims for services in the war of 1745.

We come now to a brief consideration of the productions of the forests of the United States at the present time. First, however, we will look for a moment at the official statistics of the year 1810. From these, it appears that there were in the States and Territories of the Union, at that time, 2,526 common saw-mills, which manufactured 93,974,640 feet of lumber, of the value of \$ 1,068,205. But these returns, like many public documents since published, are not worth the cost of folding and stitching them. From these official "Tabular Statements of the several branches of

* Sir William's father was a fisherman.

American Manufactures," it would seem, that there were neither saw-mills nor a manufacture of lumber in what was then the District of Maine, and none in the States of New York, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut; whereas, all of them were engaged in the business, and some of them extensively. Of these 2,526 mills, 1,995 are returned as being in Pennsylvania; that is, that State had nearly four fifths of all that were in the United States. The number set down as being in Massachusetts is just 150; but the whole are returned as from Berkshire and Hampshire counties. Maine, at the separation, in 1820, we know, contained 746 mills for the cutting of lumber, and must have had full half that number in 1810; and, if Pennsylvania and two counties in Massachusetts really had the number stated, there must have been, we venture to estimate, at least 6,000 in the United States; and the value of the lumber was \$3,000,000, instead of \$1,000,000.

The number of saw-mills in the Union, in 1840, as appears from official sources, was 31,650, of which more than one sixth were in New England; and upwards of half in the States of New York, (6,356) Pennsylvania, (5,389) Ohio, (2,883) and Virginia, (1,987.) There were 1,381 in Maine, 1,252 in Massachusetts, 1081 in Vermont, 959 in New Hampshire, 673 in Connecticut, and 123 in Rhode Island. If we take counties, we shall find that, while the value of lumber manufactured in Penobscot was much the greatest, that county, in the number of mills, ranked considerably lower than several others.*

The value of lumber produced in all the States was \$12,943,507, of three States afforded upwards of half; namely, New York, \$3,891,302; Maine, \$1,808,683; and Pennsylvania, \$1,150,220. From this, it appears, that though Maine ranks fifth in the number of mills, she stands next to New York, and second in the Union, in point of manufacturing trees into the several marketable shapes. In the value of lumber produced, Delaware was lowest, the value having been but \$5,562.

* Thus:

County.	No. of Mills.	Value of Lumber.	County.	No. of Mills.	Value of Lumber.
Penobscot, Me.,	242	\$ 668,701	Essex, N. Y.,	266	\$ 443,242
Greene, Penn.,	670	value not stated.	Tioga, N. Y.,	259	289,563
Worcester, Mass.,	320	109,052	Oneida, N. Y.,	248	233,602
Steuben, N. Y.,	267	224,922			

The whole quantity of wood sold was 5,088,891 cords. Of this, New York sold about one fifth ; Virginia, nearly one twelfth ; New Jersey, one fifteenth ; the States of Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky, about one eighteenth each ; and Maine, one twenty-fourth. *

Of lumber-yards, there were 1,793 ; of which, nearly one fourth were in New York, over one sixth in Pennsylvania ; one thirteenth in Massachusetts ; and almost one fifteenth in Louisiana, — or more than half in these four States. There were sixty-one in the city of New York, sixty in Philadelphia, thirty-four in Boston, and thirty-two in New Orleans.

Of productions of the forest other than those already named, there were manufactured 619,106 barrels of the different resinous substances known as *naval stores*, and 15,935 tons of pot and pearl ashes. Of skins and furs, the value was \$ 1,065,869 ; and of ginseng and “non-enumerated” articles, \$ 526,580. Of the sugar made from the maple tree, the exact number of pounds cannot, perhaps, be ascertained. The quantity of maple sugar manufactured in 1810, according to the official tables for that year, was 9,665,108 pounds. From the errors apparent in these tables, it is very probable, that the number of pounds returned fell short of what was really manufactured at that period ; and that the quantity was considerably more than doubled in thirty years is beyond doubt. That the whole demand in the country for sugar for its own consumption can be supplied from the maple is, we suppose, susceptible of the clearest proof. The season for making forest sugar is in February and March, when farmers are not specially busy ; when, indeed, the preparation of fencing stuff and fuel is usually their only employment ; and the amount earned in this way is almost to be called a clear gain to them. There need be no fear, that the article cannot be produced dry and white enough for the most fastidious eye and taste ; since it is known, that Washington made use of the refined maple sugar, during his presidency, even when he entertained foreign visitors ; and that large quantities of the common brown

* Our present terms of intercourse with the British Colonies operate injuriously upon Maine. We have seen it stated, for instance, that while only two cargoes of wood went from that State to Gloucester, Massachusetts, one hundred and fifteen cargoes went thither in British Colonial vessels. Such vessels, *we know*, supply other Northern ports to a considerable extent.

sort have been exhibited, within a few years, equal in grain, flavor, and other desirable qualities, to the imported sugars made from the cane.

The aggregate value of the different articles produced from the forest in 1840, if the market prices be affixed to those articles of which the quantities only are given, was thirty millions of dollars. That year, it will be admitted, was one of unusual depression; and cannot be taken as the basis for an average of years. And we are satisfied, moreover, that the official papers of that year do not make the value as great as it really was; and that one sixth may be safely added. If, now, we add another sixth, to bring up the depression of 1840 to a standard year, we shall have, as the aggregate, forty millions of dollars, instead of thirty; and this, we cannot but think, will still be somewhat too low.* The value of the exports from the forests, from 1830 to 1842, both years included, a period of thirteen years, was upwards of sixty-five and three quarters millions of dollars; being an average of more than five millions annually. The smallest amount was in 1830, when it was short of four and a quarter millions; and the greatest in 1841, when it reached six and a quarter millions.

Among the several ports for receiving and shipping lumber, Bangor is to be regarded, we think, as the most considerable in the Union. Well informed persons of that city estimate the amount which passed through the hands of its merchants, in 1843, at \$ 2,000,000. With all deference to their opinions, we must still doubt, whether it was so much by a quarter of a million; or, if it were, whether a million and a half of dollars be not the maximum, on an average of years. We should estimate the value of lumber manufactured in other parts of Maine as follows: Washington county, three quarters of a million; Kennebec, half a million;

* One or two facts will sustain this opinion. The value of the lumber produced in Penobscot county, in 1840, according to the returns, was short of \$ 700,000. The writer saw, at Bangor, at one time, in 1843, 188 vessels, which, as it was estimated by good judges, would carry off 14,000,000 feet of lumber, worth \$ 200,000, or more than two sevenths of the value returned for the whole year 1840. Again: lumber and other articles from the forest, of the value of \$ 1,439,592, were left at West Troy, from the Erie and Lake Champlain Canals, in 1842, while the amount for 1843 was \$ 2,964,061, or more than double. Like increase elsewhere would produce an aggregate far greater than we have estimated.

Somerset, Waldo, and York, one fifth of a million each ; Hancock, Lincoln, and Cumberland, one tenth of a million each ; and the remaining counties at one tenth of a million more ;—making the entire sum for the State, two and three quarters millions of dollars. Although these estimates make up an amount nearly a million above the value according to the returns in 1840, we consider them not too high. But whatever the exact yearly havoc in her woods may be, Maine should take heed, lest the pine tree of her escutcheon do not become, like the same device on the first money coined by her parent State, an emblem of her departed, rather than of her present, glory and pride.

As yet, our facts and calculations apply exclusively to values derived from commodities sent to market. If we add the countless number of trees that, in the several States and Territories, are annually cut down, but not sold ; which are used on farms for fires and fences ; which are felled by settlers and burnt on the spot ; which are torn up by tempests, and decay where they fall ; and which are destroyed by accidental conflagrations, — we shall find, that an alarming demand is made upon our woods, and that the warning which closed the last paragraph is not without force, if extended to all the States of the Union. Indeed, we fear that, like the wronged men who were their original lords, native American forests, at no very distant day, will be but rarely seen.

The experience of the Old World is full of admonition, and should not be lost upon us. The mountains of Lebanon, to which Solomon sent his “fourscore thousand hewers,” have been long stripped of their beautiful “cedars.” The period is not very remote since pines were so abundant in Great Britain, that a woodman could procure the right to use a single axe in cutting them down, for less than one dollar a year ; and, not two centuries and a half ago, wood was the common fuel in most parts of England. In Queen Elizabeth’s time, it is said that Spain sent over a special ambassador, charged with the duty of procuring, by negotiation or treachery, the destruction of oak trees in the celebrated forest of Dean. However this may be, the oaks disappeared by improvidence during the civil wars. Within one hundred and fifty years, a considerable part of the elevated regions of the north of Ireland was covered with pines, of which hardly a vestige now remains. A forest set

apart for the royal navy contained, at the end of a century, only one tenth part of the timber which the officers in the care of it reported at its commencement ; nor was alarm felt, nor means taken to replant it, until the quantity was still less. In Europe generally, at the present time, it is believed that wood-lands are diminishing with great rapidity. It is supposed, that in Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Russia, one third of the surface is still covered with forests of more or less value ; but the proportion in the other principal countries is not so large. In France, we have certain knowledge, that immense inroads are made on the woods from year to year, because she cuts from her forests not only timber, but nearly all her fuel. Of the Northern nations, it is necessary only to remark, that they are the makers of tar and providers of timber for England, and such other powers as have become importers of the articles once abundant at home.

That in America, — a country of stumps and newly cleared lands, — apprehensions should be expressed, as to our capability of furnishing ourselves with timber in all coming time, will excite a smile on the faces of many. Be it so. John Jay, a man as wise as the wisest, and as good as the best, thus wrote to Washington, more than fifty years ago. “ There is some reason to apprehend that masts and ship-timber will, as cultivation advances, become scarce, unless some measures be taken to prevent their waste, or provide for the preservation of a sufficient fund of both.” And this passage has the more weight, since it occurs in a letter devoted to the suggestion of measures necessary to be brought forward for the good of the country. The usual reasons for forcing timber into market are, that fires run through it, and that trespassers plunder it. We answer, that the man who would destroy his house that it might not be burned, or waste his money that it might not be stolen, would hardly be deemed wise.

We return to the woods of Maine, which yet remain her property and that of Massachusetts. The “ mast-trees,” which within three generations caused such heated contentions, are gone ; not one ever seen by a surveyor-general of the king now remains. The lower waters of every considerable river are abandoned. But the sound of the *logger's* axe can still be heard from the memorable “ highlands di-

viding the waters." A century in the history of a nation is but a brief space, for it scarcely marks the extreme duration of human life. But he who visits the lands lying along the tributaries of the St. John, a hundred years hence, will probably see them despoiled of their wealth. That event will doubtless occur, sooner or later ; legislation can hasten, or retard it. That Maine ought to endeavour to postpone it, we fully believe ; the interests of Massachusetts may require another policy ; she will judge. The treaty of Washington has given rights and guaranties, which obviously demand some action on the part of both. That instrument opens a way to and from the *last great forest of New England* ; and whether the facilities it provides for transportation and finding a market should induce increased or diminished alienation of soil and timber, is a question which deserves the most profound consideration. Those who administer the affairs of Maine ought, as we venture to say, to reason thus : " *Our lands are at home, and we can guard them ; they are of immense worth, let us manage them wisely, that something of what was inherited from our fathers may descend to our children ; the treaty which has given us free access to them can never expire ; the waters which flow from them will bear their pines to the sea ages hence as well as now ; the lapse of years will only add to their value ; the vast quantity of lumber now thrown into market does but overstock it, and rob our people of the rewards of their skill and labor. Let us then dispose of these our remaining wood-lands sparingly. As for our tillage lands, if need be, we will give free deeds of them to promote settlements, and to prevent our young men from becoming victims of agues and intermittents at the West.*"

In the Report of Mr. Coffin, named at the head of this article, the whole matter of the treaty at Washington, which pertains to our subject, is ably and clearly stated. We give the passage entire. That convention provides, that

" In order to promote the interests, and encourage the industry, of all the inhabitants of the countries watered by the river St. John and its tributaries — whether living within the State of Maine or the Province of New Brunswick, — it is agreed that where, by the provisions of the present treaty, the river St. John is declared to be the line of boundary, the navigation of said river shall be free and open to both parties, and shall in no

way be obstructed by either ; that all the produce of the forest in logs, lumber, timber, boards, staves, or shingles, — or of agriculture, not being manufactured, or grown on any of those parts of the State of Maine watered by the river St. John or by its tributaries, of which fact reasonable evidence shall, if required, be produced, — shall have free access into and through the said river and its tributaries, having their source within the State of Maine, to and from the seaport at the mouth of the said river, either by boats, rafts, or other conveyance, that, when within the Province of New Brunswick, the said produce shall be dealt with as if it were the produce of said province, &c. &c.

“The largest portion of the territory on the upper St. John, or more properly speaking, the most valuable portion of said territory, is the joint property of this Commonwealth and the State of Maine, and in its present uncultivated situation the value principally consists in its growth and abundance of pine timber, which, according to the provision contained in the article of the treaty here recited, can be hauled and floated to the market at the city of St. John, and from thence can be shipped in British vessels to Europe or the West Indies. But as the freight on timber to foreign ports is of necessity very high on account of its bulk, no timber, except it be large and sound, can be shipped without great loss. Owing to this fact, the operators in the woods will not cut any but the largest, soundest, and best trees, if they can avoid it. In the course of the lumbering business, however, in consequence of hidden defects and other causes not easily obviated, a considerable amount of unsound and refuse timber must necessarily find its way to the city of St. John, and from the fact before stated, not being wanted, it is nearly worthless. So far therefore as regards the best quality of timber, the provisions of said treaty operates greatly to our advantage ; but as regards the coarse, or defective and refuse qualities, it offers no inducement, as there is no market that will remunerate the operator for its removal, except it be admitted into the States free of duty. Under the existing tariff of the United States, lumber is subjected to a duty of twenty *per centum ad valorem*, which amounts to a prohibition of its being brought here.

“The value of that territory to the States of Maine and Massachusetts would be greatly enhanced, if the pine lumber from St. John river was admitted into our ports free of duty, — for in that case, a large amount of timber now standing in the forests of Maine could be removed to a valuable market, and would immediately increase the demand for timber and soil. The treasury of the United States can never be benefited by exacting a duty, as nothing of the lumber kind can afford to pay even

a small charge. It appears to me therefore, that the request would be reasonable, and no more than exact justice, that we should have a right secured to us of bringing our own produce from our own soil, without being subject to any exaction whatever, even if in its transit it necessarily passes through a foreign territory. It is true, if the timber is hewn in the State of Maine, and brought to our ports in that shape without alteration, no duties are required; but to bring lumber in that cumbersome form, would be more expensive than even the required duty. The grand falls on the St. John, and the falls at the mouth of the Aroostook river, both being within the limits of New Brunswick, the timber must of necessity be taken into the British province before it can be manufactured into boards, &c.

"I understand, that some individuals having an interest in that region are about to petition Congress, praying that pine lumber owned by American citizens, cut on American soil, and brought in American vessels, may be admitted free of duty. It seems to me the interest in this question to this Commonwealth and the State of Maine is of sufficient magnitude to induce some effort on our part for the accomplishment of the same object."

These remarks look to immediate and rapid sales, and indicate the means necessary for their accomplishment with the greatest profit. Mr. Coffin is an officer of so much experience and faithfulness, and his opinions are entitled to such respect, that we shall not attempt to show the injurious effect upon the Commonwealth of a speedy disposal of her property in the regions to which he here invites the attention of her legislature. That such a course on the part of Maine would be unwise, we have already briefly urged, and the point need be pressed no further. With regard, however, to the suggestion contained in the last paragraph here quoted, some knowledge of the course of business near the eastern frontier causes us to fear, that if this kind of timber were admitted into the United States on the terms proposed, there might be facilities for the introduction of timber from trees that actually grew in New Brunswick. Great strictness in investigating the proof of origin would, doubtless, check irregularities; but we are not quite satisfied, that the most rigid course which could be devised or enforced, would entirely prevent them. Timber which proves "unsound and refuse" is cut on both sides of the line, and as is the case with every other commodity, will be sent to the best market, when that market is accessible by statutory provis-

ions or ingenious devices. Nor would frauds be confined to the "coarse, or defective and refuse" kinds; since choice lots are sometimes, under a duty, brought to our ports for special purposes; and in the changes of trade, the merchantable timber, when the price is depressed in England, might be shipped to the United States to good advantage. Though it may be extremely difficult to ascertain the identity of timber and masts coming from the upper St. John to the sea, we would not discourage the attempt. We seek only to protect our own lumberers from their Colonial competitors. British Colonists interfere quite enough already with Northern industry; and before yielding them more, we would have full equivalents in hand, certain, and not contingent, realities, and not "boons."

We are now prepared to conduct our readers "out of the woods"; and in the spirit of the adage, we will endeavour to make them go smilingly. With a rapid sketch of the lumberer as he was, and as he is, we will conclude. It is of the man of work, and not of the great *operator*, of whom we speak; and between the two there is a wide difference. Our subject is known by various names. In the forest, he is a *logger*; on the stream, he is a *river-driver*; in the mill, he is a *sawyer* or *mill-man*; between the mill and the place of loading a vessel, he is a *raftsman*; and when on board ship, he is a *coaster*. Though he sometimes confines himself to one of these callings, he occasionally makes himself a proficient in all. But wherever found, he was often a wild, improvident, and thoughtless fellow. Within a few years, he has taken the "pledge," and now he saves his wages. You may see him now with a wife, a home, a farm, and a stock of cattle; or, if he has them not, they are all embraced in his plans, and all within his reach. He was an inveterate coveter of *shingle-rift* and mast-trees, and cared but little who owned them, if sharp eyes were not upon him. To the mortal hate he bore to the king's guardians of the woods, we have already alluded; and we may add, that it was a long time before he could forget, that land agents were their successors. Nor is trespassing a very grave offence in his estimation, even now; he will often plunder, just to show his adroitness in outwitting those who are set to watch him. As he wiles away a period of stormy weather in his camp, he will relate some wonderful exploits, which, in other

days, he devised or aided to execute. He had, too, a way of seeming honesty, which, to those who were inexperienced in his manœuvres, lulled all suspicion. When he cut the timber of another person under a permit, and engaged to pay the owner *stumpage* by the thousand feet, the *sealer** was allowed to see the logs lying upon the ice in the stream, measured them, and went his way. Apparently, all was right ; but the *logger* had commenced hauling trees to the stream when the ice was thin, and, if rolled heavily from the bank, the logs would break through it ; and he had continued this course until more timber was beneath the ice than above it. But who could impeach his integrity, since the proprietor's own *sealer* came to the *rolling-tier*,† and saw for himself, and took account, without let or hindrance ? If the half of his logs were invisible, how could *he* help it ? This was but one among many of his old devices.

He was wont to be a liberal provider for himself and those who went with him for a winter's work in the woods ; but not always for those dependent upon him at home. " I will get my supplies now," said an old man to his merchant, some thirty years ago. " What will you have ? " " Well, I hardly know ; but as I shall come in by and by, I will only just take a few things to stand us a spell. We are but eight hands, all told, and don't need much. A barrel of rum, another of molasses, three barrels of pork, and six of flour, and that meal bag full of tea, with the corn I have already got for the oxen, will do to begin with." The tea was weighed and poured into " that meal bag," and, provided with all that he asked for, he departed ; but, as may be supposed, people who ate and drank at this rate could find little time for chopping and hauling ; and the merchant's books have not been balanced, we opine, to this day.

Nor, in other days, was he exact in business, or scrupulous in *log-marks* ; so that the old saying, that " one gang of *loggers* and a saw-mill will support a lawyer," was not entirely destitute of truth. But as we have said, he is a changed man now, both in his deeds and dress. As for the latter, you may see him in the glazed hat, the upper and

* Surveyor.

† Place at the stream-end of his road, which he prepares in order to get his logs from the land upon the ice.

lower oil-cloth garments, and "proper strong boots" of the fisherman; rather than in the linsey-woolsey of the family-loom and dye-pot, with cap and buskins of the same, which he wore in the olden time. His manners, his faults, and his vices show him to be a rough man. But he has ever been ready at the first tap of the drum to enlist in the service of his country. He went with Phips, who had been his companion in the woods; and with Pepperell, his own mill-owner. He was on the battle grounds of the Revolution, and the ploughman finds his bones at Plattsburg and Bridgewater.

As for the master of the *lumber-coaster*, he was once neither a landsman nor seaman; and his men had the same amphibious character. Twenty-five years ago, they sailed in almost any vessel, and on almost any terms. He dodged along shore, and had a rule to pass no harbour after meridian, and not to leave one until past twelve o'clock at night. He nailed a horse-shoe on his mainmast, and would look well to its safety whenever he was off Salem. The superscription of the village attorney could be seen upon letters addressed to him, in almost every tavern or store of the town where he lived. He took passengers at "nine shillings for going, and two and three-pence a day for grub"; and huddled them, male and female, into a cabin without state-rooms, partitions, or even curtains to the berths. His cook was a never washed, never combed boy, who wore his father's trousers and nobody's shoes; and was proud of the mysteries of making bread by mixing Indian meal with water, and stirring them up with a black iron spoon; of mincing fish with potatoes and warming them with pork fat; and of making, for a treat on Sunday, a salt meat soup. Those who paid "for going and for grub" were taxed a pint or a quart of "the West India," for every harbour new to them between the port of departure and destination, and were put under liberal contribution for the gallons that were now and then provided in order "to raise a fair wind."

But such men, such vessels, and such customs have well-nigh passed away. The coaster now owns a part of his vessel, and is frequently the ship's husband. He is a good navigator, and ventures out at sea with the boldest; makes passages as quick as the quickest; and instead of being a loungeur about home in the winter months, as he was formerly, may be found "freighting" at the South, or making

voyages to foreign countries. He is seldom in debt. His house is well painted and carpeted, and every thing is comfortable and in good repair. His children are at academies or colleges, and he is a prudent, moral, and temperate man ; and could we induce him to leave off whittling shingles, and the immoderate use of tobacco, he is so gentlemanly, that he might sometimes be mistaken for the captain of " a New York liner."

ART. IV.—1. *Various Papers on Meteorology, and the Laws of Storms*, by W. C. REDFIELD. American Journal of Science and Arts, Vols. XX, XXV, XXVIII, XXXI, XXXIII. Jamieson's Edinburgh Journal for February and April, 1838. Naval Magazine, Vol. I. English Nautical Magazine, 1839. Journal of the Franklin Institute, Vol. XIX. Blunt's Coast Pilot, 12th and 13th Editions.

2. *An Attempt to develop the Law of Storms by Means of Facts, arranged according to Place and Time, and hence to point out a Cause for the Variable Winds, with a View to practical Use in Navigation.* Illustrated by Charts and Wood Cuts. 2d Edition, with Additions. By LIEUT. COLONEL W. REID, C. B., F. R. S., (of the Royal Engineers.) London. 8vo.
3. *The Philosophy of Storms.* By JAMES P. ESPY, A. M., Member of the American Philosophical Society, and Corresponding Member of the National Institute, Washington. Boston : 1841. 8vo.
4. *On the Storm which was experienced throughout the United States about the 20th of December, 1836.* By ELIAS LOOMIS, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Western Reserve College. Philadelphia : Phil. Trans., Vol. VII., New Series.

ABOUT a century ago, Dr. Franklin made preparations to observe an eclipse of the moon at Philadelphia. The execution of his purpose was prevented by a storm from the north and east, which obscured the sky a short time before the moon passed into the earth's shadow. He learned after-

wards, to his surprise, that this eclipse had been seen at Boston ; and upon comparing the accounts from the other Colonies, he discovered, that our northeast storms obey a fixed law of progress ; that they are experienced first in the southwest, and advance towards the northeast.*

The study of this law has led to a series of discoveries in the science of meteorology of the highest value, whether regarded as contributions to knowledge, or as the basis of useful rules for the guidance of conduct ; from which the practical man may derive great advantage, and which the philosopher with honorable pride may number among those benefits which his patient investigations confer upon mankind. "*Tant est féconde la méditation d'une loi de la nature.*" These discoveries relate chiefly to the phenomena of storms, — of those dreadful hurricanes especially, which vent their first fury upon the fertile islands of the Caribbean sea, where they originate, and passing thence to the continent, strew the shores of the United States with the wrecks of our rich commerce. By a laborious collation and careful comparison of scattered records, our countryman, Mr. Redfield, obtained a knowledge of their principal features, and consummated his task by the discovery of the general fact, that these storms are comparatively isolated masses of air in a highly disturbed state, the particles of which revolve with such violence as to create the destroying winds called tempests, or hurricanes. Thus the Preacher, in illustrating the vanity of all human pursuits, uttered the language of a correct philosophy. "The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north ; it whirleth about continually, and the wind returneth again according to his circuits."

The first suggestion, that a storm might be a great whirlwind, was made by Colonel James Capper, of the East India Company's service, in a work on the winds and monsoons of India, published in 1801. He points out the method of investigation since adopted by Mr. Redfield, to whom, however, Colonel Capper's book was entirely unknown. Indeed, this book seems to have attracted little notice before Mr. Redfield's discovery. About the time that the American philosopher was employed in his earlier

* This eclipse occurred on the 21st of October, 1743. See an "Attempt to fix the Date of Dr. Franklin's Observations in Relation to the North-East Storms of the Atlantic States," by A. D. Bache. *Franklin Journal* for November, 1833.

labors of observing and collecting the observations of others, a similar inquiry was in progress in Germany. On Christmas eve, 1821, after a long continuance of stormy weather, the barometer sank so low in Europe, that the attention of meteorologists was strongly drawn to the circumstance. M. Brande, having obtained the registers kept at this time in various places, came to the conclusion, that, during this storm, the winds blew from all points of the compass towards a central space, where the barometer was, for the moment, at its lowest stand. This conclusion was disputed by Professor Dove, of Berlin, who subjected the observations in the possession of Brande, as well as others, to a new examination, and made it appear, that an explanation of all the phenomena was afforded by the assumption of one or more great rotary currents, or whirlwinds, advancing from the southwest to the northeast.* Before this discussion was known in the United States, Mr. Redfield, by an independent course of investigation, had arrived at the result we have already announced, and his opinion is fortified by facts and cases so numerous and well authenticated, as fully to justify the distinction which Sir David Brewster has accorded to him in the following language. "The theory of rotary storms was first suggested by Colonel Capper; but we must claim for Mr. Redfield the greater honor of having fully investigated the subject, and apparently established the theory upon an impregnable basis."†

An inquiry into the nature and operation of these mighty agents of destruction, the sweeping storms on the sea, or the ravaging tornadoes on the land, will prove not less an advantage to humanity than to science. To be able to foretell their approach, and to know their course and action, is to warn the farmer and mariner in time to guard against their effects. And science will be acknowledged to fulfil one of her highest aims, when she adds to those instructions which direct the course of the adventurous seaman over the ocean, the knowledge that will protect him against the rebellions violence of the tributary elements.

Mr. Redfield's researches have made us acquainted with the following general laws. The winds in a great storm, which were once supposed to travel in a direct path pointed

* *London and Edinburgh Journal of Science*, Nos. 67, 68.

† *Philosophical Magazine*, Vol. XVIII., 3d Series, p. 515.

out by the vane, do actually revolve about a vertical line or space, which may be regarded as the central axis of motion. Professor Leslie framed a theory accounting for the barometric fluctuations, according to which, the winds in hurricanes were presumed to move in a rectilinear direction, at the rate of one hundred or one hundred and twenty miles an hour. Mr. Redfield has shown, however, that a storm is no longer to be considered as the unequal disturbance of an extended stratum of the atmosphere, but as a vast whirlwind, or vortex, approaching to a cylindrical form, through-out which the motion of the air is rotary. It is not one wind, but a combination of winds from all quarters.

*"Una Euruseque, Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus."*

These whirlwinds, or aërial vortices, have a progressive movement, that carries forward the whole body of the storm, apart from the internal motions, which cause its violence. This progressive movement depends upon the prevailing currents of the upper air, and varies from twelve to thirty miles an hour. Such, at least, is the rate of progress of those storms examined by Mr. Redfield. He is aware, however, that some storms appear to be local, and nearly stationary, whilst others move with greater rapidity.

The rotation of the air in the body of the storm is, on the north side of the equator, from the right to the left, or contrary to the movement of the hands of a watch; and, in southern latitudes, from the left to the right, or with the hands of a watch. Its violence increases towards the interior; but in the centre is a space where the winds seem to lose their force. This calm in the middle of a heavy storm is well known to seamen, as the forerunner of a dangerous and violent shift of wind. The barometrical changes first noticed by Mr. Redfield are remarkable, and serve to indicate to the observer the portion of the storm that he occupies. The arrival of the storm, as is well known, is preceded by a fall of the mercury. Mr. Redfield has found, that this fall increases as the storm passes over, up to the central space, where it attains its maximum; the barometer then begins to rise, and gradually mounts as the latter section of the storm recedes. These changes, which are proofs of a rotary and progressive movement, are very valuable to seamen, particularly in pointing out the central calm,

the deceitful character of which has, no doubt, caused the wreck of many vessels. The extent of the storm, or of the region over which its influence is felt, Mr. Redfield believes to vary from one hundred to five hundred miles. Those which originate in the tropics increase in diameter, and diminish in violence, as they proceed towards the poles ; and it is suggested by Colonel Reid, that the gales become huddled together as the meridians approach each other, and are so complicated in high latitudes by their rapid succession, that it is not easy, during the season of storms, to identify a particular one.

Mr. Redfield's attention was first called to the hurricanes of the West Indies, the fatal visitations of which are so well and mournfully recorded in the shipping lists.* Availing himself of the various sources of information, he was enabled to pursue the track of a storm from the place of its first appearance, to some point far to the east in the North Atlantic ocean, where its forces, like those of the Gulf Stream, were weakened by diffusion. The charts of the hurricanes show, that they take their rise in the vicinity of the Windward islands, and proceed in a northwesterly course, until they approach the continent of America, where, between the twenty-fifth and thirty-fifth degrees of latitude, they change their path to the north and east, inclining gradually to the east. Their course then becomes nearly parallel to the coast, and sometimes their influence is felt on the whole Atlantic shore, from Cape Florida to Halifax.

One of the hurricanes of August, 1830, has been traced by Mr. Redfield in its daily progress, by means of the journals and reports of voyagers, from near the Caribbee islands to the coast of Florida and the Carolinas, and thence to the banks of Newfoundland, a distance of more than three thousand miles, which was passed over by the storm in six days, at the rate of about twenty-one miles an hour. The duration of the most violent portion of this gale, at the different points over which it passed, was about twelve hours ; but its entire duration was, in some places, twice that period. The

* The West India hurricane season is reckoned from the 15th of July to the 15th of October. During this period, premiums of insurance, that are usually $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., rise to 4, and 6 per cent. The hurricane region is included between the 10th and 28th degrees of north latitude, and the 58th and 86th degrees of west longitude.

breadth of the storm, therefore, may be estimated as between two hundred and fifty and four hundred miles, — the duration depending upon its extent and the velocity with which it moves.

On that portion of the track nearest to the American coast, or the farthest inland, if the storm overlies the continent, the wind begins to blow from the eastern or northeastern point of the horizon, and veers by the north to the northwest, where it terminates. These are known as the northeast storms of the Atlantic States, which are most severe in the beginning, are attended with rain or snow, and generally end with a wind at the northwest, bringing fair weather.

Such are the leading general facts, ascertained by Mr. Redfield, concerning the operations of nature in great storms, particularly those of the United States, and the hurricanes of the West Indies. They are carefully deduced from observations and experiences endlessly multiplied; and the leading proposition of the rotary motion is fortified by so wide an induction, that we have no hesitation in speaking of it as a truth satisfactorily demonstrated. Mr. Redfield's views are corroborated by Professor Dove, of Berlin, who, without any knowledge of Mr. Redfield's labors, arrived at similar conclusions at about the same time. It is not to be supposed, however, that the rotary storm, though probably the greatest, is the only disturbing cause of the regular atmospheric currents.* Mr. Redfield, whose aim has been, "first, to resolve particular facts into other facts more simple and comprehensive; and, secondly, to apply these general facts (or, as they are usually called, *laws of nature*) to the synthetical explanation of the phenomena"† of storms, was not anxious to indulge, in his earlier papers, in speculations concerning the *origin* of the phenomena, whose active force he was investigating. Science has not yet determined the part, (probably an important one,) which electricity takes in their production.

But it is less difficult to assign a cause for the mechanical

* We should be glad to present our readers with the outlines of Professor Dove's "General Theory of the Winds," and of the admirable essay of Mr. Brown (*Phil. Mag.*) in which the views of Daniell are so extended as to embrace hypotheses of the general currents of the atmosphere. But we must keep within the narrowest limits of our subject, — "vapors, and clouds, and storms."

† Stewart's *Elements*.

disturbance of the atmosphere, which will result in the formation of aerial whirlpools. Maupertuis, while engaged in his geodesic operations at Tornea, observed that, on opening the door, the external air immediately produced a whirlwind in the room, which was discernible by means of the condensed vapor. On an occasion in St. Petersburg, when a crowded assembly were suffering from the closeness of the room, a gentleman broke a window for relief, and the air rushing in, formed a visible condensation of snowy matter, having a revolving motion.* It appears, from these anecdotes, that, if a body of air in a quiescent state, at an elevated temperature, and highly saturated with vapor, be suddenly penetrated by a cold current, an aerial vortex will be instantly formed.

Mr. Redfield has met with an able and efficient coadjutor in Lieutenant-Colonel Reid, of the Royal Engineers, who, having been employed at Barbadoes in reëstablishing the public buildings blown down in the hurricane of 1831, had already conceived an interest in the study of the nature of storms, when he read a paper by Mr. Redfield in "Silliman's Journal," for April, 1831. In his valuable work, he has not only laid down in a beautiful manner and with scrupulous fidelity the *data* furnished by Mr. Redfield, but he has also collected numerous accounts of other storms in both hemispheres. To his industry in compiling and arranging curious and important facts must be awarded high praise; but to his modesty and candor no praise, however high, can do more than justice. Upon all topics which he discusses, he has been studious to collect authentic information, and whenever he has been carried into the field of conjecture, he has advanced with that sedate caution and steady regard for certain knowledge, undisturbed by the vanity of speculation, which become the philosophical inquirer. Colonel Reid was the first to illustrate the reverse motion of storms in the southern hemisphere. The most interesting of his records upon this point are those of the storm of March, 1809, encountered by the fleet of the East India Company, under the convoy of the *Culloden*, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, the first Lord Exmouth. It has left a deep impression upon many minds in England by the great loss of life and property it occasioned.

* Harvey's *Treatise on Meteorology*, — *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*.

The fleet had crossed the equator, and sailed on its homeward passage with fine weather, until the 11th of March, when the gale came on. They were then in the vicinity of the islands of Rodriguez and Mauritius, a region which, on the opposite side of the line, corresponds to the West Indies in its stormy character. On the 14th, the fleet was dispersed, and this circumstance afforded the means of obtaining simultaneous observations of the wind in different sections of the storm. After travelling obliquely to the trade-wind, from the east to the west, inclining southerly, the storm recurved at the twenty-fifth and thirtieth degrees of latitude, and went off to the south-east, in remarkable conformity with the manner in which the hurricanes of the northern hemisphere pass off to the north-east. The brig of war *Harrier* was lost, and four of the East India Company's ships, the *Lady Jane Dundas*, the *Jane*, *Duchess of Gordon*, the *Calcutta*, and the *Bengal*. The four latter were seen for the last time on the 14th, and probably foundered near the centre of the storm, towards which they were then steering.

Colonel Reid has also accompanied Mr. Redfield in his inquiry into the phenomena of water-spouts and whirlwinds. He considers it by no means certain, that the same law of nature produces the small whirlwind and the great storm. We know of no authentic observation, however, except that made by Colonel Reid himself, at Bermuda, which combats the opinion of Mr. Redfield, that the course of rotation is the same in both. The whirling motion of the air satisfactorily accounts for the fall of fish,* and showers of sand, seeds, blood, (a misnomer for red earth, probably,) and salt rain, of which many instances are related both by Colonel Reid and Mr. Espy. Colonel Reid has also applied the diminution of the atmospheric pressure in the centre of storms to explain the extraordinary high tides, and consequent inundations, that often prove more disastrous than the wind. A fall of two inches in the barometer indicates a

* A curious case of the fall of fish in a storm is recorded in *The Athenæum* for October, 1840. It occurred in the Madras Presidency, sixty or seventy years ago, and a sufficient number was gathered to make a curry for the General's table.

"Piscium et summa genus hæsit ulmo
Nota quæ sedes fuerat columbis."

diminution of one fifteenth in the atmospheric pressure, which would cause the sea under it to rise two feet. A wave of the sea, answering to the atmospheric wave, may move onward at the rate of the storm's progress, accompanying it in its course, and its height will depend upon the reduction of the atmospheric pressure, modified by the revolving power of the wind. When an impulse, thus acquired, has been maintained for some distance, a current will be created, similar to the tidal wave, and of sufficient strength, when added to the flood tide, to cause the inundations that often occur in flat lands. A storm five hundred miles in diameter, carrying with it the diminished pressure of one fifteenth of the column of mercury, seems adequate either to arrest or accelerate existing currents, or to create new ones. Sir Thomas Hastings saw, during a rapid fall of the barometer, at Portsmouth, an ebbing tide stop, and return to the flood, before its period had elapsed. A well attested fact like this proves the correctness of the Colonel Reid's views.

"The apparent connexion of storms with electricity and magnetism" is a subject of the deepest scientific interest. The quantity of electricity developed in violent storms is very great, and has, at times, if the accounts can be relied on, affected the needle to such a degree, that it ceased to be of any use. Colonel Reid ascertained, by experiment, that the two poles of the magnet, in conjunction with the voltaic battery, moved in a manner corresponding to the revolution of hurricanes in the northern and southern hemispheres. Great storms of periodical recurrence are confined, as is well known, to certain parts of the globe; and it is a curious fact, that the meridians passing through the two north magnetic poles run also through the Chinese sea, and near the Caribbean sea, — the regions of typhoons and hurricanes; and that here, the magnetic intensities upon Major Sabine's chart of isodynamic lines are strongly marked, whilst at St. Helena, where a gale is rarely known, the intensity observed by Captain Fitzroy is 0.84, "the lowest denomination recorded."

But we resume the examination of the rotary law of storms, which, as we before observed, is the *general* fact, confirmed by Professor Dove and Colonel Reid, deduced by Mr. Redfield from the particular facts he has accumulated. The question is, Do the particular facts sustain Mr.

Redfield's law, and does the law account for the phenomena of storms included in its classification? The negative answer is stoutly maintained by Mr. Espy of Philadelphia, whose work on the "Philosophy of Storms" stands at the head of our article. Mr. Espy has been known to the public for many years as a writer in the "Franklin Journal" upon various subjects of science, but chiefly upon meteorology. In 1836,* he published a series of essays, containing a theory of the formation of clouds, and rains, the aërial meteors known by the names of storms, tornadoes, whirlwinds, waterspouts, &c., some of the elementary principles of which are to be found in his earlier papers.† The greater part of the "Philosophy of Storms" is a republication of his essays and papers in the "Journal."

His theory is at once simple and comprehensive, and, as "the probability of a hypothesis increases in proportion to the number of the phenomena for which it accounts, and to the simplicity of the theory by which it explains them,"‡ if the facts cited by Mr. Espy were to be received without hesitation, we should be as ready to yield our entire assent to its propositions, as we are to admire the ingenuity displayed in its invention. Mr. Espy repeats the doctrine of Brande, that the winds in a great storm rush impetuously from all parts of its outer boundary, either towards a single centre, or, when the storm is of an elongated form, towards a diametrical line which is the longer axis. Whether this opinion be borrowed from Brande or not, it is a necessary consequence of the new theory. To support this view, Mr. Espy also appeals to facts, and to the very facts adduced by Colonel Reid and Mr. Redfield, as evidences of the rotary motion. He has been active in collecting records for himself, but the storms of 1780 and 1837 are presented in his book as most striking illustrations of his theory, and their application is the more conspicuous, as they are selected from Colonel Reid.

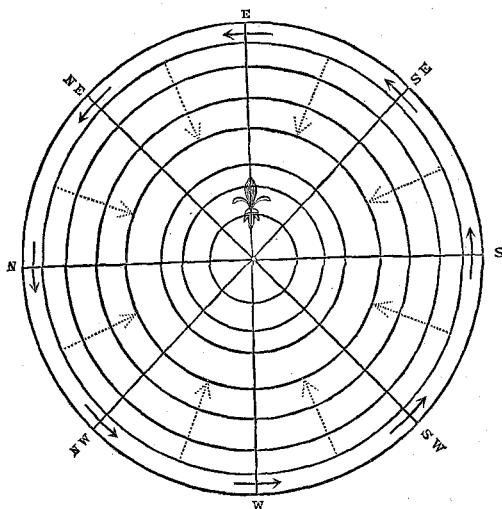
It behooves us, then, to examine this question, and, to render the subject more intelligible, we will make the necessary projections. In doing this, it will be our object to test Mr. Espy's merit as an observer and recorder of facts; hereafter, we shall discuss his theory. The following figure represents the progressive whirlwind of Mr. Redfield,

* *Franklin Journal*, Vols. XVII., XVIII.

† *Franklin Journal*, Nov., 1833, and Jan., 1835. ‡ *Stewart's Elements*.

the arrows between the two outer circles showing the direction of the wind according to his law. The dotted arrows mark the central direction of the wind, as maintained by Mr. Espy.

Due North.



It will be remarked, that the wind on the north side of Mr. Redfield's whirlwind blows from the east ; on the south side, from the west ; on the east, from the south ; and on the west, from the north. The centripetal storm of Mr. Espy, as shown by the dotted arrows, blows from the point indicated by the compass direction, in the line of the radius, and his wind is always at right angles to Mr. Redfield's. It would not seem very difficult, then, to make up our judgment on this matter, if we were supplied with correct statements of the direction of the wind in different parts of the storm at the same time.

The most valuable information gathered by Colonel Reid is that relating to the hurricanes of October, 1780, the most terrible recorded in West Indian history. Three great storms happened in the same month. The first destroyed the town of Savanna-la-Mar, and wrecked the British frigate *Phoenix*. The second, and by far the severest, desolated the island of Barbadoes, and inflicted great losses upon commerce and upon the British fleets. The third dis-

persed the Spanish fleet under Solano, in the Gulf of Mexico, after it had sailed from Havana to attack Pensacola. The faithful method adopted by Colonel Reid, of printing all the accounts in detail, affords to every one the same means of arriving at the truth. England, being then at war, had large squadrons in the West Indies, and on the American coast, and this circumstance multiplied the facilities for tracing these gales.

Sir Peter Parker commanded in the West Indies, and Sir George Rodney was off New York in the *Sandwich*. In the squadron of the former, eight ships were lost, and their crews nearly all perished, and seven vessels were dismantled. In that under Rodney, five vessels were lost, and nine were dismantled, or severely damaged. Savanna-la-Mar was destroyed, the islands of Barbadoes, St. Vincent, St. Eustatia, Dominica, Grenada, and Martinique suffered dreadfully. Twenty-five or thirty thousand persons are known to have perished on the islands, besides the crews of the men-of-war already mentioned, and of numerous trading vessels which were wrecked. At Grenada alone, "nineteen sail of loaded Dutch ships were stranded and beaten to pieces." Six ships of war were anchored at the carenage of St. Lucia, when the gale began, and five of them were driven to sea, and returned to port in the most helpless condition. The language of poetry bears a literal interpretation.

"And anchored navies from their stations drive,
Wild as the winds, across the howling waste
Of mighty waters."

At Barbadoes, the family of the governor were obliged to take refuge in the cellar, the wind, in spite of every precaution, having forced a passage into all parts of the house, and torn off most of the roof.

"From this asylum, they were soon driven out; the water being stopped in its passage, having found itself a course to the cellar, they knew not where to go. The water had risen four feet, and the ruins were falling from all quarters. To continue in the cellar was impossible; to return to the house equally so. The only chance left was making for the fields, which at that time appeared equally dangerous. It was, however, attempted; and the family got to the ruins of the foundation of the flag-staff, which soon after giving way, every one endeavoured to find a retreat for himself. The governor, and the few that remained, were thrown down; and it was with great difficulty they

gained the cannon, under the carriage of which they took shelter. Their situation was deplorable ; many of the cannon were moved ; and they had reason to fear that the one under which they sat might be dismounted and crush them by its fall, or that some of the ruins which were flying about might put an end to their existence ; and to render the scene still more doubtful, they were near the powder magazine. Anxiously did they look for the break of day, flattering themselves that with the light they would see a cessation of the storm ; yet, when it appeared, little was the storm abated. Nothing can be compared with the terrible devastation that presented itself on all sides ; not a building standing. The trees, if not torn up by the roots, were deprived of their leaves and branches ; and the most luxurious spring changed, in this one night, into the dreariest winter.”*

Such are the awful scenes which the study of this subject leads us to contemplate. One anecdote illumines for a moment the dark gloom. The *Endymion*, *Laurel*, and *Andromache* were to the east of Martinique, and on a lee shore. The *Endymion* just cleared the northeast point of the island ; but the two latter vessels were wrecked, and twenty-five of the crew of the *Laurel* alone were saved. These men, of course, were made prisoners. They were sent by the Marquis de Bouillé to the British governor at St. Lucia, with a letter, saying that he could not detain them as prisoners from the chances of a catastrophe common to all.

“ How far that little candle throws his beams ! ”

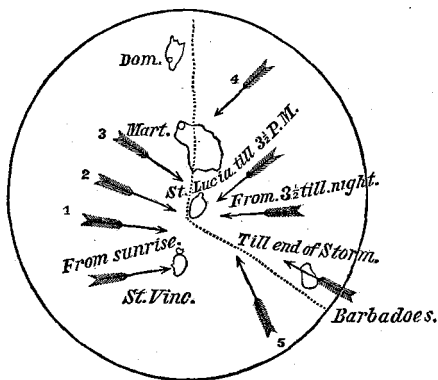
In the first storm, on the third of the month, Mr. Espy has selected the time when the centre is supposed to have passed over Lucia bay, about six o'clock, P. M. The records of the storm at this moment are very incomplete ; all winds to the west of south and north are wanting ; that is, for one half of the circle, and those on the other half are confined to a small space. This hurricane, we incline to believe, originated on the island of Jamaica. It is first heard of at Port Royal, where it raged more than twelve hours before it reached Savanna-la-Mar. This fact, which Mr. Espy omitted to notice, is entirely inconsistent with his theory ; for, according to that, as the wind was from the southeast, the centre of the storm should have been far to the north of Jamaica, before the first part reached Savanna-la-Mar. Neither has Mr. Espy given the exact directions of the wind upon his sketch ; his south is nearer south by

* *Gentlemen's Magazine* of 1780. Reid, pp. 347, 384.

west, and the south-southeast at Port Royal is southeast. These may be errors of the engraver, but they favor his views. But the *data* of the storm are not sufficient at this point to authorize its use as a demonstration of either theory.*

When we pass to the two next recorded stages of its progress, where it overtook Admiral Rowley's squadron, and the ships belonging to Sir George Rodney's fleet, the whole body of the evidence is in harmony with the rotary law, and irreconcilable with the rectilinear hypothesis. As Mr. Espy has avoided these tests, we will not dwell upon them, but proceed to examine the hurricane of the 11th and 12th, at the point chosen by himself. It is to be observed, however, that whilst Mr. Redfield and Colonel Reid give charts of the whole track of the storm, Mr. Espy limits his projections to one period. If his principle be correct, it applies equally to all periods, and to no one more than another. The following sketch is copied from Mr. Espy's book.†

"Chart of the great Barbadoes hurricane, October 11th, 1780, showing the course of the wind at 6, P. M.



1. Montagu, from 6 to 8, P. M. 4. Endymion, from P. M. of the 10th to 12th.
2. Amazon, at 2, P. M. 5. Albemarle, from 4½ P. M. till next day.
3. Alcmena, from 5 till 9, P. M.

"The dotted line is the course which the centre of the storm moved in."

* Among the documents relating to this storm is a letter from Lieutenant Archer to his mother, giving an account of the loss of the *Phoenix*, written in a very graphic style, and filled with details of touching interest, such as created the universal popularity of Mr. Dana's "Two Years before the Mast." It is too long to quote, but we recommend its perusal.

† Espy, p. 199.

These arrows point inwards to a central space ; but when we have made the necessary corrections, the character of the testimony will be changed. The wind of the *Montagu* which Mr. Espy has put down W. by N. is really N. N. E.* The wind of the *Amazon* instead of being N. W. is N. E.† There is a palpable error in the log of the *Alcmene* ; for the wind is marked N. W. when the ship's head in the adjoining column is N. W. also ;‡ the "Remarks," as well as the log of the *Amazon*, which vessel was very near the *Alcmene*, show that N. W. is a misprint for N. E. The wind of the *Endymion* is not N. E. as given by Mr. Espy, but E. N. E.§ Mr. Espy's position of the *Albemarle* is wrong ; that ship was further to the north and east than he represents her.|| At St. Vincent, the wind was a little to the west of N. W. and not W. by S. The winds at St. Lucia, so minutely noted as to time, are not to be found in Colonel Reid's documents.¶ The wind at Barbadoes is loosely given, and at long intervals,** so that it is impossible to determine the precise direction at 6, P. M. We shall not make use of it. Finally, Mr. Espy has omitted the *Vengeance* and the *Egmont* altogether, though they were within the space included in his chart. Of the nine arrows, then, in Mr. Espy's projection, eight are positively erroneous, and the ninth (Barbadoes) is uncertain ; two other data of equal importance are omitted. In the following projection, the arrows are pointed the right way.

The reader will perceive, that the mass of air between the circles exhibits a uniform rotary character. In any particular section, the whole tendency is from right to left, and in no instance is it reversed. The course of the wind sometimes deviates a little, as at the *Albemarle* and *Endymion*. The difficulty of observing the exact direction of the wind in a tempest, both at sea and on shore, particularly in the former case, where the motion is violent and unceasing, must be taken into consideration. The winds, too, in their fierce contention will be diverted from regular action. It is rather to be wondered at, that so slight a variation from a steady motion in rotation should be found in so many different ac-

* Reid, p. 365.

† *Ibid.* p. 367.

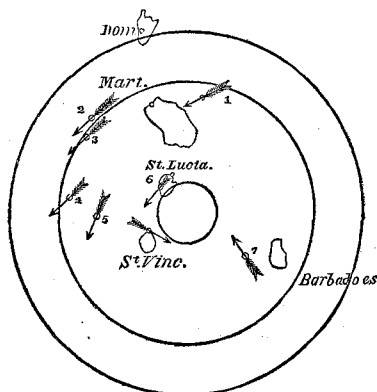
‡ p. 357.

§ p. 371.

|| Chart 9.

¶ Chap. 8, *passim*.

** There is a contradiction between the log of the *Albemarle* and the account in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, as to the direction of the wind at 10 o'clock of the 10th. The *Albemarle* must be right ; otherwise she could not have gone to sea, and doubled the point of the island.



- | | | | |
|---------------|------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Endymion. | 3. Amazon. | 5. Montagu. | 7. Albemarle. |
| 2. Alcmenene. | 4. Egmont. | 6. Vengeance. | |

counts and situations. Several of the arrows point in direct opposition to the convergent theory; especially those at St. Vincent, and near Barbadoes. The latitudes of these places are nearly the same; the wind at one is northwest, and at the other southeast; according to Mr. Espy, therefore, the middle of the storm would be north and south of the same parallel, at the same time. At the various stations, the wind went round the compass in conformity with the law of rotation. We may refer particularly to the report of the intendant of Martinique, to the *Endymion*, and indeed to all the vessels. To follow the storm in its whole progress, and point this out in detail, would occupy too much space.

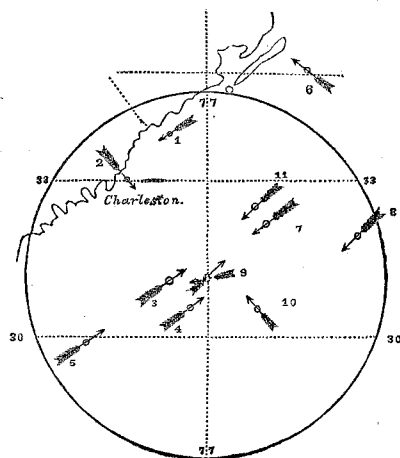
This hurricane of the 11th of October is altogether the most affecting of those mentioned in Colonel Reid's work. It is also the most complete in its annals. It is curious to read the musty old log-books, which were laid upon the shelf sixty years ago, without the least probability that they would ever see the light again. Written with technical conciseness, they appear to exhibit a singular insensibility to the perils and hardships they briefly record. Here and there the cry of the strong swimmer in his agony echoes in our ears; but the notice both of the living and the dying is the mere mention of a fact, and the lament over many

"a brave vessel,
Who no doubt had noble creatures in her,
Dashed all to pieces," —

is confined to the hasty condolence of an official despatch.

Another storm mentioned in Colonel Reid's book, and selected by Mr. Espy as an illustration of his theory in opposition to the rotary law, is that of the middle of August, 1837. He has undertaken to give the position of the storm at noon of the 18th, the period of most rapid change. We have no hesitation in saying, that it is impossible to ascertain the directions of the wind at this hour, for all the vessels on his chart, with any approximation to certainty. For instance, "The *Delaware*, on the 17th, lat. $31^{\circ} 30'$, long. $76^{\circ} 20'$, had a severe gale E. S. E. and then W., which continued till the 20th"; * and it is from loose statements like this, that, without any qualification, he determines the position and wind of many of the vessels at noon of the 18th, as if they had been expressed at that precise moment. The following is Mr. Espy's projection. †

"Position of storm at noon on the 18th of August, 1837.



- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Wind at Wilmington, P. M. of 18th. | 8. Westchester, on 18th. |
| 2. Oglethorpe on 18th. | 9. Duke of Manchester, till P. M. of 18th. |
| 3. West Indian all 18th, from 2, A. M. | 10. Delaware, on 17th, and probably on 18th, changing round to westward on 20th. |
| 4. Rawlins, all 18th, from 2, A. M. | 11. Cicero, on 18th." |
| 5. Ida, all day of 18th. | |
| 6. Penelope, on P. M. of 18th. | |
| 7. Yolof, till 8, P. M. of 18th. | |

We have to remark concerning it, that the wind at Wil-

* Espy, p. 237.

† *Ibid.* p. 238.

mington is right ; that the position given to the *Oglethorpe* is incredible, as it puts that brig only thirty-five miles from Cape Roman, in the neighbourhood of the shoals of Cape Fear, four degrees inside of Cape Hatteras, and four and a half degrees to the westward of the Capes of the Delaware ; yet she was reported in a New York* paper, and, no doubt, was bound to a Northern port. It is not only incredible, that she should have run into this dangerous position, but it seems impossible. She was in a northwest gale on the 13th,† and on the 18th, against which she must have proceeded in order to arrive at this place.

The *West Indian* is placed accurately enough. The wind of the *Rawlins* is north, instead of S. W. as Mr. Espy puts it. There is no authority for the wind of the *Ida* ; it is described in her log-book as “veering from N. E. to S. W.”‡ The *Penelope* is right. The log-book of the *Yolof* shows no wind until after 8, P. M. of the 18th.§ According to the brief newspaper paragraph, which is the only authority, || the *Westchester* was in the same latitude in a gale of wind for two days. This is absurd, and as there are no means of determining her correct place, she is rejected. Mr. Espy has put down the *Duke of Manchester* in a wrong position. She differs from the *Rawlins* more than two degrees in her latitude ; ¶ but on the chart they are brought near together, and their winds (that of the latter being misstated) are drawn so as to converge. We have already quoted the report of the *Delaware* ; it evidently cannot serve any purpose that aims at accuracy. The *Cicero* is also rejected ; her winds agree well enough with the rotary law, but are not sufficiently specific.** Lastly, the ships *Sophia* and *Westbrook*, the bark *King Philip*, and the brig *Mary*, within the influence of the storm, are omitted on Mr. Espy’s chart.††

We subjoin a *correct* view of the storm on the 18th, to which the same remarks will apply as to our first amended projection.

In addition to the facts given above, Mr. Espy has cited the accounts of many hurricanes and gales collected by himself, as proofs of his theory. It is, of course, out of the

* Espy, p. 233.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 106, 107.

** Espy, p. 237.

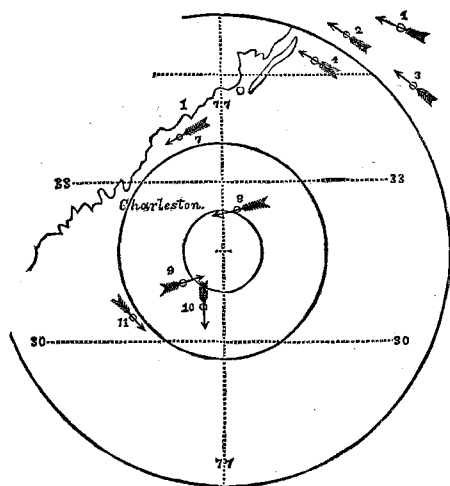
† Reid, p. 88.

|| Reid, p. 86.

†† Reid, chap. 5.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 102.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 116.



1. Sophia.

2. Mary.

3. Westbrook.

4. Penelope.

7. Wilmington.

8. Duke of Manchester.

9. West Indian.

10. Rawlins.

11. King Philip.

question to enter upon a critical examination of them here. We will observe, however, that Mr. Espy's summation of the "labors of the joint committee," and his conclusions therefrom are wholly unsatisfactory. In the storm, too, of the 16th, 17th, and 18th of March, 1838, of which Mr. Espy gives a chart showing the probable limits of its extent, we are required to admit, that the wind blew inwards from the borders of the storm universally; when, in fact, of sixteen or eighteen arrows touched by the limiting circle, or included within it, one half, namely, those numbered 1, 12, 14, 17, 18, 21, 27, 28, 30, do not point inwards. Mr. Espy, before the British Association, quoted the storm of January, 1839, in Great Britain, as sustaining in all its phenomena the theoretical principles he was advocating. This storm has since been again examined by Mr. Hopkins of Manchester, with information furnished by Mr. Smith of Liverpool, in a pamphlet comprising one hundred and forty-one accounts, taken from the local newspapers in various parts of Ireland, Scotland, and England. He did *not* find Mr. Espy's "converging streams rushing towards a centre."

The accounts of storms taken from the public prints are generally vague, meagre, and unsatisfactory. Their object is

not to convey accurate meteorological knowledge, but to relate local and commercial news. There are two modes of treating these accounts ; either to present them entire, as Colonel Reid and Mr. Redfield have done, or, like Mr. Espy, to make selections. When the latter course is pursued, there is danger of considering those facts as the most reasonable and credible, which accord with the preconceived opinions of the theorist, whilst those at variance with them are likely to be rejected as imperfect and irreconcilable with an assumed law of nature. Even such as are accepted may be perverted by prejudice, or a want of proper prudence in guarding against its influence. The numerous errors of Mr. Espy that we have just exposed, render these remarks peculiarly applicable to him. They seriously impair our confidence in his accuracy as an observer, or recorder of facts ; in which light we have hitherto considered him.

We may dispense with any labored argument to show, that if there be a fixed law of nature, according to which those storms act, that constitute the seaman's worst dangers, the knowledge of it will prove of infinite importance in preserving the lives and property exposed to hazard in commerce. It is for this reason, that we have extended our criticism further than may be altogether interesting to the general reader. The result is, that we find the law of Mr. Redfield fully sustained ; and we see, that the Royal Society * and the British Association † concur in his views. Mr. Redfield, however, has modified his first conception so far as to admit an inward and upward tendency, and a consequent spiral action, in the winds that compose the body of the storm.‡ This expresses our own view more completely. A rotary motion, if continued a sufficient length of time, must, we conceive, finally terminate in a spiral revolution. The centrifugal action tends constantly to heap up the air, and increase its density, upon the outer borders of the storm, and the increased density occasions an inward pressure. We may suppose these two forces to be, for a time, equally balanced. But the rotary movement experiencing retardation

* *Instructions to the Officers of the Antarctic Expedition*, Phil. Mag. Vol. XV, 3d series.

† Professor Forbes's Supplementary Report.

‡ Paper read by Mr. Redfield before the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, January 15th, 1841.

from friction at the surface of the earth, and from the reaction of the denser medium constantly becoming greater, the centrifugal force is weakened, and when it is reduced so much that the inward pressure gains the ascendancy, as it must do in the end, the spiral revolution is established. The greater height of the barometer at the borders of the storm than in the centre, verifies the existence of an increased density.

Mr. Redfield has found a warm opponent in Dr. Hare, of Philadelphia,* whose strictures also extend to Professor Dove.† As he has chosen to misunderstand and misapply the Professor's expression of a "rotary cylinder," and to insist accordingly, that the outer portion of the storm should be found to move with the greater rapidity, as if the expression were intended to represent the storm as a solid of revolution, he has spared us the trouble of an argument. Dr. Hare's objections are chiefly of a speculative kind. The best answer to them is to be found in the judicious language of Mr. Redfield.

"If the supporters of a rotative or whirlwind action in tornadoes and hurricanes had chosen to maintain their cause in a speculative manner, the case might have been different. But when their facts and results were offered on the basis of direct observations, which had been set forth in many cases, with particularity and precision, it seems like a waste of words to assail these observed phenomena and results with strictures and objections of this character; volumes of which can never equal in value the direct observations which may be made of the phenomena of a single storm."‡

Before we conclude this division of our subject, we must advert to the rules drawn up by Mr. Redfield for the government of the seaman when he encounters a revolving storm.§ They are prefaced by observations explaining its principal phenomena, and such general features of it as appear to be established. They are the honorable and valuable results of

* *Phil. Mag.* Vol. XIX.; also *Silliman's Journal*.

† *Silliman's Journal*, Vol. XLIII.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. XLIV.; Notice of Dr. Hare's "Strictures," &c. Mr. Redfield, in his "Meteorological Sketches," (*Silliman's Journal*, Vol. XXXIII., No. 1.) has presented some theoretical views concerning the prevailing currents of the atmosphere, which will not, we apprehend, receive the entire sanction of the scientific community.

§ *Silliman's Journal*, Vol. XXV.; Blunt's *Coast Pilot*.

arduous and successful investigation. A certain degree of intelligence is requisite for their proper application, but they are simplified as far as the topic will admit. That they will prove beneficial to navigation, we have no doubt. The mariner will learn from them to avoid a storm, or, being involved in one, to escape from the destructive violence of the central portion. Surely, that person is to be ranked among the benefactors of mankind, who has lessened the perils of the sea, and added to the security of commerce.

It remains for us to discuss Mr. Espy's theory. Before doing so, it will be just to make a hasty review of some of those principles established by the skilful experiments of Dalton, Daniell, and others, upon which it is founded. The experiments of the former upon the rarefaction and condensation of air in the receiver of an air-pump, similar to those made by Mr. Espy in his *nepheloscope*, led him to discover the effect of the latent heat of vapor in raising the temperature of the atmosphere. The conditions of the experiments were varied, by using air in the different stages, from extreme dryness to a state of saturation; the thermometer suspended in the middle of the receiver experienced a fall, which was at its maximum with the dry air, and decreased according to the increase of moisture. Dalton has stated this result as follows: "Suppose that a part of the atmosphere contained one fiftieth of its weight of aqueous vapor, and that three fifths of this vapor, that is, one hundredth of the whole elastic mass, was converted into water, then the heat given out would be sufficient to raise the temperature of the remaining mass of air and vapor six or eight degrees." * He also estimated the change in the bulk of the atmosphere due to a change of temperature. Mr. Daniell enlarged our comprehension of the subject, by showing the elevation necessary to the condensation of vapor at certain temperatures, and the manner in which the admixture affected the gradation of temperature resulting from the decreasing density of the upper parts of the atmosphere.

"The steam, [the slow and silent influence of which Daniell considers as one of the mainsprings of all the wonderful motions of the air and changes of the weather,†] as it reaches its

* *Manchester Memoirs*, Vol. V., Old Series, pp. 523-525.

† *Meteorological Essays and Observations*, p. 263.

point of condensation, must give out its latent heat, and during its precipitation, combining with a fresh proportion, it again ascends, and again evolves in the middle regions. It may thus be considered as carrying caloric from the surface of the sphere to the higher strata ; and it is obvious how a considerable section of any one column may thus have its temperature equalized and fully saturated with aqueous particles. The currents thus become affected, both by the expansive powers of the vapor, and of the extricated heat."*

Thence it follows, that the condensation of elastic vapor into clouds raises the temperature of the air ; and this theoretical and practical conclusion is confirmed by the observation of M. de Luc, who found the thermometer to rise in a cloud. He noticed, also, that as the cloud became larger and more dense, it increased in elevation.† An accumulation of aqueous vapor, and a consequent unequal expansion of the atmospheric columns, are accompanied by a decrease of density, and are made known by a fall of the barometer. A constant stream then rushes in with increasing force, augmenting by its condensation the cause of its velocity.‡ Mr. Dalton, and afterwards Professor Leslie, demonstrated, that the mean temperature of the atmosphere diminishes from below upwards, in a regular gradation. This diminution has since been determined to be about one degree for every one hundred yards of ascent. Mr. Daniell discovered, that the elasticity of aqueous vapor does not decrease with the gradual decrease of the temperature and density of the air, as we ascend, but remains stationary at great heights.§ He also accounted for the apparent permanency and stationary aspect of a cloud. Clouds amongst mountains, and upon hills by the sea-side, appear to be perfectly immovable, although a strong wind is blowing upon them. The fact is, that the vapor, wafted by the wind, is precipitated by contact with the cold mountain ; and is urged forward in its course till, borne beyond the influence which caused its condensation, it is again exhaled, and disappears ; and this process must also take place on either side of the planes of precipitation in the atmosphere, and give an apparently fixed position to clouds in the free air.|| Gay-Lussac has also ex-

* *Meteorological Essays and Observations*, pp. 77, 87, 129.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 105.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

|| *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 124, and *Man. Mem.* Vol. V., New Ser.

plained the same phenomenon by the constant ascent of warm currents during the day. The theory of the formation of heavy masses of dense clouds, the *cumuli*, for instance, seen in fine weather, which sometimes accumulate in piles of stupendous magnitude and beauty, deeply shaded at the base, and terminating in lofty summits of silver lustre, is given by Daniell.* The sun dissolves the morning vapors, and, during the heat of the day, they rise from the surface of the land and waters, and reach their point of condensation in greater or less quantities at different altitudes.

“And now the mists from earth are clouds in heaven;
Clouds slowly castellating in a calm,
Sublimar than a storm.”

We have no room to devlope this hypothesis, but it is adopted by Mr. Espy, as one of the most striking illustrations of his theory. Dalton and Daniell had also provided invaluable helps to the meteorologist, in their very complete tables, exhibiting the specific gravity, elasticity, temperature, dew point, &c., of the atmosphere, at different altitudes, for every ten degrees of latitude from the pole to the equator.

Mr. Espy's combination of the foregoing facts and principles is equally novel and ingenious. The first formation of a cloud is occasioned, he conceives, by the uprising of a column or stratum of air from the surface, where it has become more heated, or more highly charged with aqueous vapor, and thus specifically lighter than the air in its vicinity. As this column ascends, it is cooled, by the expansion due to diminished pressure, at the rate of about one degree for every one hundred yards of ascent, allowance being made for the corresponding decrease in the elastic force of the vapor. If it rise high enough, the cold thus produced will condense some of its vapor into cloud. The highest temperature, at which this can take place, is the dew-point; and the height, therefore, which the uprising column must attain, before this condensation can occur, or the cloud be formed, depends upon the difference between the temperature of the air and the temperature of the dew-point, one degree of this difference answering to one hundred yards of altitude. As soon as the cloud begins to form, the latent caloric of the condensed vapor, being liberated, raises the

* *Meteorological Essays and Observations*, p. 124.

temperature of the air in the column, and prevents it from cooling so fast in its further progress upward as it did to that point, keeping it constantly at a higher temperature, and consequently less heavy than the air of the surrounding region. An upmoving power is thus created, and rapidly increased by the latent heat, or caloric of elasticity, of the vaporous portion of the atmosphere in the column.

This may be regarded as the first step of the process, and Mr. Espy thinks, that it is going on simultaneously in other parts of the atmosphere for many miles round, as appears from the number of detached clouds existing at the same time. All these columns have a tendency to approach and unite into one large cloud. A mechanical disturbance of the atmospheric equilibrium has now taken place, which nature will make efforts to restore. First, there must be a new accession of air towards the rarefied column, increasing its upward steam power ; secondly, the air, carried into the upper parts, is to be disposed of. The necessary supply is afforded by the rush of air on all sides towards the centre of the ascending column ; and here we have Mr. Espy's converging winds. We speak of this as the second step. The third is the disposition of the air in the upper part of the column. The great expansion of the air in the newly generated cloud will cause it to spread outward in all directions above. The outspreading of the air will form an *annulus* all round the cloud, in which the air will sink from its greater weight, and increase the velocity of the wind near the surface of the earth towards the centre of the column ; whilst, on the outside of the *annulus*, the pressure will cause a gentle wind outwards. The upmoving currents are now supplied by the air within the *annulus*, and that which descends in the *annulus* itself. Any general currents, that may exist at the time, will modify these motions by their transverse action, and may prevent the formation of the cloud, by breaking off and carrying away the highest portion of the column before it has reached the plane of condensation.

These are the fundamental propositions of Mr. Espy's theory, and in connexion with them, one important fact is to be specially noted. The ascending column originates in the smaller specific gravity of a stratum of air. As the column rises, the specific gravity continues to diminish according to the elevating power ; or rather, it is more proper to say, that

the elevating power is wholly due to the loss of specific gravity caused by expansion, and the heat emitted by the vapor as it condenses. Therefore, the barometer must fall to its lowest level in the column, or under the middle of the cloud. And such is the observed fact. Sir John Herschel, and afterwards Sir David Brewster,* objected to Mr. Espy's theory, that the inward rush of air ought to make the barometer rise in the centre of a storm. These distinguished philosophers had not given to the subject the attention it deserves. The converging winds endeavour to restore an already disturbed equilibrium; but no sooner do they arrive at the point where they deflect upwards, than *they* also lose their gravity by expansion and *calorification*. A hasty perception of Mr. Espy's misapplication of the principle of spouting fluids may have occasioned their mistake. This principle applies to the converging tendency of the surrounding air. Mr. Espy commits the error of applying it, also, to the ascent of the air in the column, which is owing to its buoyancy alone.†

We have yet to show how Mr. Espy's theory explains the common operations of nature. As the force of the ascending current increases, together with the quantity of condensed vapor, the cloud will change from the fleecy *cirrus*, or massy *cumulus*, to the black and threatening *nimbus*, when the moisture will be precipitated in the form of *rain*. The more elevated drops of rain may be forced up by the powerful draught, and be discharged from the *annulus* into the clear, cold air, whence, being frozen, they will descend to the earth as *hail*. As the centre of the spout passes over the ground, its lifting power may take up light substances, which will afterwards reappear in those *showers of dust, grain, &c.*, which have excited the curiosity of the philosopher, and the terror of the superstitious.‡ If the air is very hot below, while no cross currents disturb the perpendicular elevation of the spout, and the whole atmosphere is highly saturated with vapor, then the inward and upward motions will

* *Edinburgh Review*, No. 138.

† Professor Peirce's Objections, *American Almanac* for 1843.

‡ A shower of grain took place in 1840, at Rajket, in Kattywar. The natives flocked to Captain Aston, to ask his opinion of this phenomenon; for not only did the heaven's raining grain upon them excite terror, but the omen was aggravated by the fact, that the seed was not one of the cultivated grains of the country, but entirely unknown to them.

be very violent. The rapid diminution of pressure will lower the point of condensation until the base of the cloud touches the earth. In this case, we have the phenomenon known as a *tornado* on land, or a *water-spout*, at sea. In this, the rarefaction of the air is extreme ; passing over a building, it may cause a sudden expansion of the air within, which will blow out the sides and roof. If a tornado should be arrested in its progress by meeting a mountain, it would disgorge at once its accumulated weight of water and ice in one immense flood, that would cut its way down the side of the mountain, carrying with it the loose earth and stones, and leaving a deep gully to mark the track of its ruin. This is Mr. Espy's mode of accounting for the *meteoric waterfalls*, one of which overwhelmed the unfortunate Willey family in the pass of the White Mountains. As the air spreads out more rapidly above than it runs in below, the causes which occasion the first formation of a cloud, may enlarge the circuit of their influence, so as finally to embrace a region of considerable extent, the violence of their action increasing with its time and extent ; the meteor then becomes a *storm*, or *hurricane*, whose motion, *en masse*, is governed by the pre-dominating upper currents.

We must content ourselves with these general outlines of Mr. Espy's beautiful and original theory, regretting that want of space alone, and by no means a want of respect for its merits, compels us to withhold the further development of its details. "This beautiful mechanism, whether it has been adopted by nature or not, is most worthy of her, and Mr. Espy may honorably be proud of its conception."* The reception of this theory, by the French Academy, amounted to applause. A report upon it was made by a committee consisting of MM. Arago, Pouillet, and Babinet, names eminent in physical science, who, regarding Mr. Espy's facts as fully confirmed by his documents, and confiding in his observations, accepted his hypothesis in terms of the highest approbation. One qualification, and one prolific of doubts, was admitted ; it was, that Mr. Espy had not taken into account the effect of electricity in these phenomena.

Mr. Espy's "Paper on Storms" was read before the British Association, in September, 1840. It excited uni-

* "Espy's Theory of Storms," by Professor Peirce. *Camb. Miscellany*, No. 3.

versal interest, and his lecture room was so thronged, that numbers were obliged to turn from the door, after a vain attempt to procure admission. Mr. Espy has subjected his theory to the rigid test of mathematical analysis, by computing, from the *data* of Dalton and Daniell, the amount of heat given out by the condensed vapor, the decrease of density in the ascending column, the effect of the diminished pressure upon the barometer, and the force and velocity of the upward motion. Among other objections made at the meeting of the British Association, it was stated by Professor Forbes, that these calculations were erroneous. We should have been content, without further examination, to reply, that the committee of the French Academy pronounced them "*tres suffisamment exactes*," had not Professor Peirce of Harvard University repeated them in one instance, and proved, that "there are cases in which rain does fall, and in which Mr. Espy's uprising columns cannot be sustained;" from which he concludes, that "his views do not embrace the whole subject, and some other mode of accounting for the continuance of the rain remains to be ascertained."*

Professor Forbes further objected, that the central funnel or spout would be insufficient to vent the air rushing into it. An upward motion, however, of ten miles an hour, in a space of moderate dimensions, such as is indicated by the calm in the centre of a storm, would give vent to air rushing towards it from every direction with the velocity of one hundred miles an hour. But this reply to Professor Forbes injures Mr. Espy's theory of the formation of hail. Mr. Arch Smith's remark, that a rotary motion must inevitably result from a centripetal one, unless we imagine the infinite improbability, that all the radial forces precisely counterbalance each other, is so plainly justified by an elementary principle of dynamics, that we wonder it escaped Mr. Espy's penetration. But to objections of a theoretical character, like these last, Mr. Espy answers by an appeal to facts, and the recorded phenomena of nature. Taking facts, then, as our argument, we intend to add a few comments.

In order that a theory may possess the requisite degree of plausibility, it ought not only to be correct in its fundamental

* *Cambridge Miscellany*, No. 3.

principles, but sound and accurate in its deductions ; not only symmetrical in its general structure, but perfectly harmonious in its agreement with authentic observations. The primary principle of this theory leads its author to maintain, that artificial fires, by creating an ascending stream of heated air, under favorable circumstances, may produce rain. In the spirit of an adventurer rather than a philosopher, he offers to display this feat, if a promise of sufficient reward be given *in case of success*.*

But the statements with which Mr. Espy enforces his opinions point also to the generation of electricity, by chemical decomposition arising from combustion, as a probable cause of the shower. If his theory were strictly correct, we might expect, that the heat communicated to the atmosphere by the combustion of fuel, and by the animal respiration in great cities, would prove a frequent source of rain.† Yet the table of Mr. Dalton shows, that less rain falls at London, Liverpool, and Manchester, than in the country. The amount at London is eight inches below the mean of Great Britain, as determined by Dalton. The meteorological observations throughout the Philosophical Magazine show the same result. One table exhibits the quantity of rain, for a series of years, in more than one hundred places in both hemispheres. The mean annual amount of the whole table is about 42.5 inches. The annual amount at London, according to Howard, is 25.2 inches ; according to Daniell, 22.2 inches ; and according to Dalton, from forty years' observation, 20.7 inches. The annual amount at Paris is 19.9 inches. We have already shown, that the centripetal tendency of the winds in a great storm, advocated by this theory, is contradicted by the facts. The whirling motion in whirlwinds, waterspouts, and tornados, also, is proved by the testimony of accurate witnesses. Mr. Espy thought so in 1833, before he had contrived his theory ; then he said, " When a waterspout occurs, it is acknowledged on all hands, and by every observer, that it is attended by a whirlwind."‡ We may refer particularly to the descriptions of that able seaman and hydrographer, Horsburg, who, having prepared his ship, carried her through the centre of several of

* Espy, p. 497.

† Mr. Hutchinson's *Objections*, Espy, p. 463.

‡ *Franklin Journal* for Nov. 1833.

them.* The accounts of Captain Beechey, the report of the tornado that sunk the steamboat *Tigris* in the river Euphrates, on the 21st of May, 1836, and the observation of Colonel Reid, are distinct and explicit upon this fact.† M. Pellis, professor of mathematics in the college of Sainte Foy, describes a tornado that happened at Flanjaques.‡ It turned a mill round, and twisted the trees, until their tops were forced round almost the entire circle. Several were noted in the last century, at the lake of Geneva, and Limay in France, of a similar character.§ And Mr. Espy, in his extracts from M. Peltier, has included a very striking instance of one, which devastated the *communes* of Fountenay and Châtenay, (near Paris,) during which “there arose a frightful whirlwind of dust, and light bodies.”|| The same remark applies to the hurricane of Stow, described by Professor Loomis, to the New Haven tornado, by Professor Olmsted, and the Providence tornado, by Mr. Redfield. The only exception of weight is the New Brunswick tornado, the *traces* of which were carefully examined by Professors Bache and Henry. They did not witness the tornado itself. Their conclusion was, “that the effects indicated a moving column of rarefied air, without any whirling motion, at or near the surface of the earth.” We shall not endeavour to set aside these high authorities, or take any thing from their valuable opinions in this particular case. Still, the whirling motion in the others remains to be accounted for, upon other principles than those of Mr. Espy’s theory. But for authorities, we may cite the distinguished names of Pouillet¶ and Despretz,** both of whom speak of tornados as characterized by a whirling movement.

The most minute and satisfactory relation of a whirlwind is to be found in a letter from Dr. Franklin to Peter Collinson.†† Franklin accompanied it three quarters of a mile; he found the “circular motion amazingly rapid, bending some tall trees round in a circle swiftly, and very surprisingly.” This whirlwind, the tornado of 1741 at Lake Geneva, and that quoted from M. Pellis, were unattended with rain or

* Reid, p. 9. † *Idem*, chap. 11. ‡ *Comptes Rendus*, Vol. I.

§ *Histoire de l’Académie*, 1741, p. 20; 1742, p. 26; 1764, p. 32.

|| Espy, p. 357.

¶ *Elémens de Physique et de Météorologie*.

** *Traité Élémentaire de Physique*, 4th ed. p. 865.

†† Franklin’s *Works*, Sparks’s ed. Vol. VI. p. 201.

hail. The latter left behind a dense smoke, that was not even moist. In these phenomena, Mr. Espy's steam-power is entirely wanting; for he certainly will not ask us to believe, that the vapor was condensed, and that an ascending force, varying from two hundred and forty to seven hundred and twenty feet a second,* existed in the spout, and yet that no drops of rain should be thrown from its summit. Here, again, we have very striking phenomena, that are to be accounted for upon other principles than those of Mr. Espy's theory. His neglect of the influence of electricity, also, which he regards as only accessory and secondary, is, in our judgment, a fatal defect. His theory aims at a complete explanation of all the wonderful changes of the atmosphere, without a passing notice of this mighty agent. We are not aware, that there is any detailed description of a tornado, in which it does not appear to take an active part; and several of those the most minutely and accurately portrayed, such as the tornado seen from Nice by M. Michaud,† those of Châtenay,‡ Natchez, and Providence, exhibit its presence in so striking a manner, that it is difficult to imagine their production by other means. Dupré quotes the accounts of two tornados, which ravaged the vicinities of Pas-de-Calais on the 6th of July, 1822, and Trèves on the 25th of June, 1829, in both of which, the whirling motion and electrical agency are distinctly marked. He introduces them to teach the student the nature of these terrible storms. § Lamé also adopts Peltier's theory of the electrical origin of tornados. || Mr. Espy subsequently qualifies his opinions to this extent; that he "would not be understood to say that electricity has nothing to do with this phenomenon"; but still he regards "the dynamical agency, necessarily resulting from the diminished weight of a suddenly formed cloud," as the prime cause, both in order and effect. ¶

We have yet stronger reasons for believing, that the action of electricity alone can account for the formation of hail.

* Espy, p. 306.

† *Nicholson's Journal*, Vol. I. p. 583.

‡ As described by M. Peltier.

§ *Traité Élémentaire*, p. 368, Vol. I.

|| *Cours de Physique*, 2d ed. Vol. III. pp. 98, 100.

¶ Espy, p. 370. — The philosophic view of the electrical origin of tornados is ably presented by M. Peltier, "*Sur Trombes*," and by Dr. Hare of Philadelphia, in his reply to Professor Oersted of Copenhagen, in Reid's Appendix.

A particular kind of crackling is frequently heard before the descent of hail, attributed by some meteorologists to electrical discharges, a thousand times repeated, the hail-stones being strongly and differently electrified. On the approach of hail, the atmospheric electrometer affords another proof; the electricity is found not only to change in intensity, but to pass from positive to negative, and *vice versâ*, ten or twelve times in a minute.* Hail has been observed to fall from a cloud, that had previously discharged rain, when it encountered another cloud rushing towards it with great violence, and producing thunder. Some of the most beautiful provinces of France and Italy have been subject to periodical visitations of desolating hail storms, which have demolished the labors of the husbandman and vine-grower, and converted the bloom of summer, or the riches of autumn, into dreariness and sterility. Some places, from frequent catastrophes of this kind, have obtained the designation of "hail countries." Mr. Murray† relates several instances in which fields in these districts have been perfectly protected from the fatal consequences of these storms by conductors, or *paragrêles*. The hail cloud has carried its ravages to the very borders of the enclosure thus guarded, and, becoming harmless within the sphere of attraction of the *paragrêles*, has passed over it without injury, whilst it continued its work of destruction upon the adjoining plain, which had no means of disarming the cloud of its electricity.

We have still more important testimony from M. Lecocq, professor of natural history at Clermont-Ferrand, whose philosophic ardor carried him into the very laboratory of nature, when engaged in her mighty operations. He ascended the mountain of Puy-de-Dôme during a storm, and remained in the clouds which were pouring down rain and hail alternately. He observed, that both hail and rain, especially the former, were precipitated immediately after a flash, and seemed to be a consequence of the lightning. Another fact, bearing on our argument, was remarked, that the hail cloud was low. Mr. Espy, it will be remembered, in his theory, requires, for the phenomenon of hail, a lofty cloud and great ascending force in the spout, to raise the drops of

* Mr. George Harvey's *Treatise on Meteorology*, — *Encyclopædia Met.*

† *Treatise on Atmospheric Electricity*, by John Murray, F. S. A., &c. &c. pp. 131, 135.

condensed vapor to its summit, and discharge them into the cold air where they are congealed. M. Lecoc saw two distinct beds of clouds, separated by clear atmosphere. It was only when these clouds, brought near each other by contrary winds, were imposed one over the other, that the hail was formed. The flash invariably preceded its descent, and it always fell from the lower cloud. M. Lecoc was able to determine the height of these clouds, some of which were beneath his station. One was only twelve hundred metres, or about two thirds of a mile high.* The motion of the clouds is adverse to Mr. Espy's theory. They approached, overlaid, and passed beyond each other, *retaining their full shape*, and did not, according to his supposed law, converge to a space of general congregation, and there appear to rise. Mr. Espy's column, also, was variously scattered by the conflicting winds, and yet clouds were formed, and successive storms followed their conjunction. M. Arago testifies, that he has more than once seen clouds, from which hail would in a few moments have escaped abundantly, cover as with a thick veil the whole extent of a valley, whilst the neighbouring hills enjoyed at the same time a pure sky, and agreeable temperature.† According to Von Buch, it rarely hails on mountains, owing to the low elevation of the clouds from which hail descends. Finally, the illustrious Lamé, in unqualified language, ascribes to electricity alone the generation of hail.‡

We must terminate here our hurried examination of Mr. Espy's theory. Though it makes use only of principles of acknowledged validity, and is simple and elegant in the combination of them, we conclude, that their application is, in many cases, and with regard to the most interesting particulars, erroneous both in mode and degree. The actual phenomena of nature, the rotation of the winds in storms, the whirling motion of the tornado and water-spout, and the existence of these phenomena unaccompanied by the evidences of Mr. Espy's *only* cause of aërial disturbance, the terrible power of electricity, are not accounted for, or even recognized. How far he may find it necessary to modi-

* *Comptes Rendus*, Vol. II. p. 324.

† Mr. Harvey's *Treatise*.

‡ Vol. III. p. 95. The formation of hail has been twice proposed by the French Academy, as the subject of an essay to receive the first mathematical prize, without success.

fy it hereafter, we shall not undertake to decide ; “ but whatever may be the result, the merit of having first noticed this tendency of the liberated caloric must be conceded to Mr. Espy, and never can be disregarded as unimportant in any correct theory of storms.” *

We have already had occasion to point out several inaccuracies of Mr. Espy, which seriously affect his character as a teacher of science. We should fail in duty to our readers, if we were to pass over some other errors, that have fallen under notice in the course of our investigation. In 1831, Mr. Espy declared, that he had found, by repeated experiments, that the dew-point descended before rain.† At that time, he advanced a different hypothesis concerning rain, based upon the independent motion of the particles of aqueous vapor, which he derived from Dalton’s “ Constitution of the Atmosphere.” His present theory requires, that the dew-point should *rise* before rain ; accordingly, he tells us, that the air becomes highly charged with aqueous vapor before the cloud begins to form. The philosopher is allowed to alter, or abandon his hypotheses, and should be ready to do so, when he finds them inconsistent with facts ; but the facts themselves are not, we conceive, equally flexible and convenient. On two occasions, Mr. Espy specifies the height of the clouds, and furnishes the *data* by which his computations are made. One of these clouds he pronounces eleven,‡ and the other, fourteen,§ miles high, and he adds, (what ought to be very gratifying to our pride to know,) that the steam power of the clouds in the United States is much greater than it is in Great Britain. These astonishing altitudes so far exceeded any thing in the table of Crosthwaite, the actual measurements of Riccioli, or the observations of Humboldt and Dalton, that we were induced to repeat his calculations. We have too great a reverence for the

* “ Espy’s Theory of Storms,” by Professor Peirce. *Cambridge Miscellany*, No. 3. Mr. Meikle, of Edinburgh, claims the honor of having anticipated Mr. Espy in his theory ; (see *Edin. New Phil. Jour.*, Vol. XXIX.) For the proof, he refers to the “ London Quarterly Journal of Science ” for April, 1839, and to the article “ Hygrometry,” in the “ *Encyclopædia Britannica*.” We have examined this question ; and after observing, that Mr. Meikle’s merit, or rather demerit, consists in having very imperfectly copied from Dalton, or Daniell, a single idea concerning the latent heat of vapor, we dismiss the claim with contempt.

† *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, for April, 1831.

‡ *Franklin Journal*, May, 1836. § *Philosophy of Storms*, p. 50.

mother country, step-mother though she be, to rejoice in any such unfair advantage over her ; we were, therefore, pleased to discover, that our formulæ reduced these ambitious elevations to four miles in the first instance, and to two and a half (!) miles in the last. In the first case, we counted the sunset from the setting of the upper limb ; but if Mr. Espy dated from the centre, as he probably did, the cloud would come down to less than three miles. In the latter case, we made allowance for the refraction and sun's semi-diameter, without which any pretence to accuracy is frivolous. Mr. Espy assigned to these clouds velocities of forty-eight, and one hundred and twenty, miles an hour, respectively. We find the velocities to be eleven and thirty-two miles an hour.*

The style of Mr. Espy's book demands some criticism. He has made an apology in the preface, (and one was needed,) for its ill sorted incongruities, and useless and costly repetitions. We will not, therefore, dwell upon this defect. Neither will we charge him with occasional injustice to Mr. Redfield.† Neither will we reproach him with his insufferable conceit and bad grammar, in calling his work "the beginning of our knowledge on the causes of Storms."‡ after Dr. Franklin had discovered the law of progress of our northeast storms, and Mr. Redfield had established the law of rotation of the West India hurricanes, and Colonel Reid had published his valuable compilation of facts and observations, enriched by his comments. Neither shall it subdue our gravity, that Mr. Espy has been pleased to style himself, by implication, the Archimedes § and Newton || of meteorology ; or that he considers the modern chemists, who first discovered the latent heat of vapor, as holding the same relation to him, that the ancient mathematicians, who made the sections of the cone, may be supposed to have to Newton, Kepler, and La Place.¶

These things our charity can overlook. But his indecorous rudeness to a name illustrious in the annals of science imposes upon us a duty, which we hasten to perform. In

* Mr. Espy, in his work, changes the altitude of the first of these clouds to ten miles, and its velocity to forty-five miles. The data remain unchanged. pp. 49, 50.

† *Philosophy of Storms*, Preface, and pp 55, 60.

‡ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 5.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 438.

§ *Ibid.*, Preface.

¶ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.

treating the Huttonian theory of rain, Mr. Espy enters upon a calculation to show, that a rain such as fell at Wilmington on the 29th of July, 1834, of 5.1 inches, could not follow from the mingling of the whole atmosphere over that region, at extreme temperatures ; and he adds, " If gentlemen will frame theories on loose principles, without once putting these principles to the test of calculation, and without even taking the least notice of the latent heat of vapor, or the specific heat of air, they ought not to be surprised, that a little plain arithmetic should dissipate their empty visions, and 'leave not a wreck behind.' " *

Both here and elsewhere,† Mr. Espy has discredibly misrepresented Dr. Hutton's theory of rain. His " little plain arithmetic " assumes a case (that is, a still atmosphere), which would, if admissible, be just as fatal to his theory as to Dr. Hutton's. He knows, that such an objection as this is answered in all treatises on meteorology, by the great effect of variable winds in transporting the humidity of the air in every direction, and by numberless currents in every locality and at every altitude, blending together the vapor raised at diverse places, and thus producing, in accordance with the hypothetical principles, sufficient sources of more or less abundant precipitation. It is the mingling of currents from different quarters, and at various temperatures, which produces rain in Mr. Espy's theory. He suggests, that the concurrence of the winds obeys a certain law. Admit this law to be true, yet after the streams of converging air have met, nature will deposit their moisture according to laws discovered by Dr. Hutton ; and we regard his omission of Dr. Hutton's principle of the relative ratios of increase of the temperature of the air, and of the aqueous vapor, as a great oversight. But to speak of the hypothesis of Dr. Hutton, which, for forty years, has been accepted by the scientific men of Europe as the most plausible theory of rain ever invented, as an empty vision framed on loose principles, is language so indecently disrespectful to this profound mathematician, ingenious theorist, and skilful experimentalist, characterized as it is with the exultation of superior success, that it merits, and shall receive at our hands, the severest rebuke.

* *Philosophy of Storms*, p. 444.

† *Ibid.*, p. 209.

We have no space left to fulfil our first intention of taking such extended notice of Professor Loomis's paper as its importance claims. It is elaborated with remarkable care and ingenuity, and — to give it a high praise — is worthy of its author. We trust we shall hear soon of the removal of this able inquirer to some university in the Atlantic cities, where he may take his proper place in the front rank of American science. To the subject before us, our scientific countrymen may turn with just and honorable pride. It has revealed new and valuable facts, and these facts are of that class which lead to the knowledge of general laws. It has served the great cause of civilization and humanity, by giving fresh security to navigation, and by imparting to the seaman new and useful guides, when he fearlessly steers his ship into the hostile regions of storms, —

“ And through the shock
Of fighting elements, on all sides round
Environed, wins his way, harder beset,
And more endangered, than when Argo passed
Through Bosphorus, betwixt the jostling rocks;
Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunned
Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool steered.”

-
- ART. V. — 1. *An Address to the People of Rhode Island, delivered in Newport, May 3, 1843, in Presence of the General Assembly, on Occasion of the Change in the Civil Government of Rhode Island.* By WILLIAM G. GODDARD. Providence : 1843. 8vo. pp. 80.
2. *A Concise History of the Efforts to obtain an Extension of Suffrage in Rhode Island, from the Year 1811 to 1842.* By JACOB FRIEZE. Providence : 1842. 12mo. pp. 171.
3. *The Affairs of Rhode Island : a Discourse delivered in Providence, May 22, 1842.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND. Providence : 1842. 8vo. pp. 32.
4. *Charge of the Honorable Chief Justice Durfee to the Grand Jury, at the March Term of the Supreme Judicial Court at Bristol, R. I. 1842.* 8vo. pp. 16.
5. *A Review of Dr. Wayland's Discourse on the Affairs of Rhode Island ; a Vindication of the Sovereignty of*

the People, and a Refutation of the Doctrines and Doctors of Despotism. By A MEMBER OF THE BOSTON BAR. Boston : B. B. Mussey. 1842. 8vo. pp. 30.

6. *An Address to the People of Rhode Island on the approaching Election.* By JOHN WHIPPLE. Providence : 1843. 8vo. pp. 16.
7. *Considerations on the Questions of the Adoption of a Constitution and Extension of Suffrage in Rhode Island.* By ELISHA R. POTTER. Boston : Thomas H. Webb & Co. 1842. 8vo. pp. 64.
8. *A Reply to the Letter of the Honorable Marcus Morton, late Governor of Massachusetts, on the Rhode Island Question.* By ONE OF THE RHODE ISLAND PEOPLE. Providence : 1842. 8vo. pp. 32.

THE disturbances in Rhode Island are ended. The new form of civil government, the establishment of which created a revolutionary scene of the most exciting character, actually kindling a civil war within the limits of the State, and menacing the tranquillity of the Union, has gone quietly into operation, hardly a show of opposition being maintained against it. The friends of law and order, as they styled themselves, have achieved a signal victory, and they have not made an ungenerous use of it towards their vanquished opponents. They have wisely tempered justice with mercy, and not allowed the angry passions, which were somewhat stifled by defeat, to be again exasperated by privation and punishment. These passions, therefore, have in a great measure subsided, although a bitter recollection is left in the minds of many, which is kept alive by the evident exultation of the triumphant party. The fire has burned out, though the ashes are not yet cold.

It is a good time, then, to take a calm historical view of the matter, and to extract from it whatever lessons of political wisdom it may be calculated to afford. The question which lies at the bottom of the controversy is one of absorbing interest for every inhabitant of this country, and for every student of the nature and effects of a free government. It is of a speculative character, so far as it involves the problem respecting the origin and rightful existence of every form of civil polity ; and it is practical, so far as the changeable nature of our political institutions allows it to

come up from time to time, and to be discussed with especial reference to proposed essential modifications of the fundamental laws of the States. The recent occurrences in Rhode Island afford a precedent and an illustration to be used in all future controversies of the like character. The decision in this case must exert an important influence on all future decisions of similar questions. It is well, therefore, to consider it now, when the excitement immediately attending the affair has ceased, and before the points at issue are obscured, and the discussion perplexed, by the passions aroused by another incipient revolution in State politics.

The question has little bearing on the present strife of parties in the United States. Whigs and Democrats were arrayed indifferently on either side of the contest in Rhode Island, and in the eagerness with which they engaged in this local warfare, they seemed to forget or to spurn the ties which bound them to the two great parties that divided the whole country. The civil war severed all attachments to parties in national politics, just as, in many cases, it ruptured all family ties, and arrayed brother against brother, and father against son. Not till a comparatively late period in the struggle, did the managers of the old parties in the other States attempt to lay hold of this local contest, and to convert it into what is now usually termed, in the jargon of the day, "political capital" for their own purposes. With this attempted application and management of the dispute, we have nothing to do or to say. The question does not concern a tariff, or a bank, or internal improvements, or the distribution of the public lands. It relates solely to the extension of the right of suffrage, the duty of obedience to existing forms of government, the stability of our political institutions, and the right of revolution. We have a right to consider it, therefore, without abandoning that neutral position in respect to the politics of the day, which this Journal has always studiously maintained.

When the connexion between Great Britain and her American Colonies was broken by the Declaration of Independence, the people of this country did not at once abandon all their civil institutions, and fall back into a state of nature, there to begin the process of forming a government anew and from the very foundations of social life. They adhered closely to their old usages and institutions, their

attachment to them appearing from the very fact, that it was only the violation of these ancient forms and privileges by the arbitrary conduct of the British ministry, which produced the separation from England. The people availed themselves of their newly acquired freedom, not to pull down their old houses, and build new ones, but to restore and repair the ancient homestead. The Colonies retained their independent position with respect to each other, the old boundary lines being in every case preserved. The only difference was, that as they were formerly united only by the tie of common allegiance, so they were now held together only by concert and agreement upon measures for mutual defence. New England maintained her primitive divisions into townships, and the established forms of transacting business in them, through the primary assemblies of the people. The inhabitants of the Southern Colonies preserved their old county lines, their parishes, and their more centralized forms of civil administration. Over the whole country, the great body of the common law was preserved intact, merely the unnecessary adjuncts being cut away, by casting off allegiance to the crown, and no longer acknowledging the supremacy of parliament. The courts of law remained open, and the general organization of the judiciary was left undisturbed.

In those Colonies to which the crown had not expressly granted a charter of liberties, or to which the grant was so narrow, that the local government was constantly checked and controlled by English authority, and the administration of affairs was made quite dependent on the action of the English ministry, the dissolution of the union with Great Britain created a necessity of organizing the government anew, so that it might be administered by itself. A new establishment was needed for the exercise of the new powers acquired by the assumption of independence. The necessity was perceived, and measures were promptly taken to meet it. While the war still raged, and the issue of it was yet uncertain, while the smoke of battle still hung over the plains, and the cannon thundered in the distance, the people went calmly to work to appoint delegates, to hold conventions, and to form and establish new constitutions of government. Never was manifested a more sublime confidence in the ultimate triumph of a just cause. The people never doubted the

issue of the struggle. While every limb was yet braced and every muscle strained in the contest, they quietly made preparations for the state of things that was to ensue, when Great Britain should acknowledge her defeat, and the Americans should take their stand among the independent nations of the earth. Peace was not declared till 1783; New Hampshire formed a constitution in 1775; New Jersey, South Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and North Carolina, in 1776, the first three before the date of the Declaration of Independence; Georgia and New York, in 1777; Massachusetts, in 1780. The forms of government thus established were not arbitrary and novel, created by mere speculation, and dependent for success on future experiment. *They were founded on existing institutions*; they recognized preëxistent rights; they authorized ancient customs. They supplied omissions, it is true; but they made no unnecessary innovations. They were the old forms of polity, adopted by the first settlers on this continent, with such modifications only as were rendered necessary by the transition from a state of partial, to one of perfect, independence. They were not made by philosophers and theorists, but by practical men.

It would not be a difficult task to analyze the constitutions first established by each of the thirteen Colonies, especially those of New England, and to trace almost every important enactment in them to provisions in the old charters, or to privileges tacitly granted by the crown, or to customs founded on long prescription. We shall have occasion hereafter to consider more particularly the doctrines and the practice of the men of the American Revolution. Our only purpose here is to point out the unanimity of opinion and conduct, in this respect, of all the Colonies at the time when they emancipated themselves from British rule; — to show, that while some adopted what we are accustomed to consider as “new” constitutions, and some did not, all adhered, with greater or less fidelity, *as the case required*, to the forms and institutions with which they were familiar from long experiment, and which were endeared to them by old associations. We can characterize their practice in a word, by saying, that it was the very *opposite* of that of the French theorists, who, from 1789 till 1800, successively formed and annihilated

merely speculative constitutions, with such marvellous rapidity, for their unhappy and distracted country.

It was the good fortune of Connecticut and Rhode Island, that, for a long period before the Revolution, even from the time of their first settlement, they had enjoyed essentially republican forms of government. They obtained charters from the crown, respectively in 1662 and the following year, which, in fact, with merely nominal reservations, empowered the people to govern themselves. Chalmers, a royalist writer of the Revolutionary period, objects to these charters as establishing "a mere democracy, or rule of the people." Governor Bernard, in his private correspondence with the British ministry,* speaks of "the two republics of Rhode Island and Connecticut," and says there will be no security for the prerogative in the other Colonies, so long as these two "democratic governments" are allowed to exist. That such language was properly applied to them appears on the very face of the charters, which, in truth, authorized the people to *choose all their own officers, and enact all their own laws.* "The laws of these States," says Grahame, the able and impartial historian of America, "were not subject to the negative, nor the judgment of their tribunals to the review, of the king." Nay, "so perfectly democratic were their constitutions, that in neither of them was the governor suffered to exercise a negative on the resolutions of the Assembly." These were the great privileges they enjoyed, and which distinguished them above every other Colony in America. There was no necessity, therefore, for amending or abrogating the charters, when the union with England was dissolved. The merely formal limitations of the power of the Colonists, — the provision, for instance, that their laws and ordinances should be "not contrary and repugnant unto,† but as near as may be agreeable to, the laws of this our realm of England," — then expired of themselves,

* *Manuscript Records of the Board of Trade*, from copies obtained by a friend, which he has kindly allowed us to examine.

† "There were no regular means of ascertaining this conformity, these States not being obliged, like Massachusetts, to transmit their laws to England. On a complaint from an inhabitant of Connecticut, aggrieved by the operation of a particular law, it was declared by the king in council, 'that their law concerning dividing land inheritance of an intestate was contrary to the law of England and void'; but the Colony paid no regard to this declaration." *Grahame*, 1. 421.

and from the necessity of the case. After the Revolution, the people continued, as they had done before, to "admit freemen, choose officers, make laws and ordinances, array the martial force of the Colony for the common defence, enforce martial law, and exercise other important powers and prerogatives."* In so doing, they conformed to the practice of all the other Colonies at the same epoch, by adhering as closely as possible to their ancient rights, usages, and institutions. They preserved both the substance and the form of the constituted body politic throughout the convulsions of the Revolutionary period. During that storm, they did not sink or abandon the ship; they only deposed the commander, and changed the flag.

Although these charters were granted by Charles the Second, they derived their whole force and efficacy within the Colonies themselves from the formal and voluntary acceptance of them by the people. They were not imposed upon the Colonists, but were solicited by them; they were granted, or allowed, and not enacted, by the sovereign power. The drafts were made by the Colonial agents, acting under the instructions of their constituents; they were sanctioned by the monarch at their solicitation. After the Revolution in 1660, the people of Rhode Island thought their old charter, procured by Roger Williams in 1643, having been obtained from the parliament under the Commonwealth, would not be respected by the king; and they therefore appointed Mr. John Clarke, who was then in England, to be their agent "for the preservation of their chartered rights and privileges." He succeeded in his mission, and a new instrument was granted by the king. This new charter of Rhode Island was received in November, 1663, by the Court of Commissioners at Newport, "at a very great meeting and assembly of the freemen of the Colony." It was then accepted, ratified, and made the fundamental law of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations. "Thanks to the King, thanks to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and thanks and a gratuity of one hundred pounds to Mr. Clarke, their agent, were *unanimously voted*." A more expressive and striking scene of a people forming a government for themselves, and making it binding on them-

* The language is that of Judge Story, who thus enumerates the powers which the people of Rhode Island exercised under the charter. *Commentaries on the Constitution*. Abridged edition. p. 38.

selves and their posterity, was never witnessed. The next day after the charter was received, the old government surrendered to the new.

Of course, the fundamental law of the body politic, thus formed and solemnly ratified, was to continue until abrogated by the same power which created it. This power was a formal vote of the freemen of the Colony, at a meeting legally called and authorized. The government and the charter ratified by that vote *did* continue, till it became the oldest constitutional charter in the world. "This charter of government," says Mr. Bancroft, writing in 1836, "constituting, as it then seemed, a pure democracy, and establishing a political system which few besides the Rhode Islanders themselves believed to be practicable, is still in existence;" and "nowhere in the world have life, liberty, and property been safer than in Rhode Island." During the reign of James the Second, and the arbitrary rule of Sir Edmund Andros, it was suspended, but not abrogated, nor forfeited. After the revolution of 1688, the Colony resumed it, and continued to maintain and exercise its powers down to a very recent period. Even the crown lawyers and the other favorers of the prerogative, who were then numerous and active, who succeeded at this time in destroying the old charter of Massachusetts, and who hated the "democratic governments" of Rhode Island and Connecticut, could not, on the ground of the acts of James and the change in the dynasty at home, destroy these charters, or prevent them from continuing in effect.

If the revolution of 1688 did not annul the charters, so neither did the revolution of 1776. At both periods, there was a change of the sovereign power in the state; at the former, it was transferred, contrary to custom and the usual course of law, from one person to another; at the latter, it was taken away from an individual, and vested in the state itself; that is, in the constituted body politic, — "the people." George the Third forfeited his power in America in the same way in which James the Second lost his throne in England, — by arbitrary and oppressive acts, done in violation of law. But the constitution and the charter survived both these shocks. The Bill of Rights adopted in the former case embodies nearly the same essential principles as our own Declaration of Independence. It recognized the

power of the state to change its sovereign, without being obliged at the same time to destroy itself, or to resolve the body politic into its primitive elements, and to begin the work of forming society and government anew. In England, the monarch was dethroned, or — in the more gentle but lying phrase of the day — he had “abdicated”; and parliament assumed the power to absolve Englishmen from the duty of allegiance to him, and to confer the crown upon William and Mary. They did not go about forming a new constitution, and organizing a new government. Their work was not destructive, but conservative. They did not need even to reaffirm preëxistent statutes and principles, except those few the authority of which had been marred or violated by the arbitrary conduct of the Stuarts, and which were therefore specified, and enacted over again, as it were, in the Bill of Rights. Their silence about new forms proved that they recognized the old, which, having once been formally established, were to continue to exist until they should be as formally abrogated. Therefore, the constitution at home and the charters in the Colonies — those of them, at least, which had not been positively annulled by the decree of a court of law — continued to exist and to preserve their binding force; and neither Jacobites, crown lawyers, nor patriots questioned their legal authority.

The case was precisely the same at the time of the American Revolution. The people of Rhode Island and Connecticut did not annul their charters at this period, for they were attached to these instruments, which had been the guardians of their liberties and their rights for more than a century, and had made them the envy of the surrounding Colonies. They did not enact or accept them over again, for such an act would have implied, that these instruments had possessed no rightful force or legal efficacy for the past. The Colonies became independent States just as children become men; they did not forfeit their birthright because they had attained their majority. Under these charters, Rhode Island and Connecticut became parties to the Declaration of Independence. This new deed of their liberties, the “Magna Charta” of America, was signed by delegates appointed to Congress, in behalf of these Colonies, by the General Assemblies therein legally constituted, according to old usage. These delegates, by signing the Declaration,

did not destroy or annul their respective governments at home. Such an act would have been suicidal, for their own authority as delegates was derived from these governments. They were not chosen for such a purpose, nor were they subsequently empowered to effect it. They were appointed to consult with the delegates from the other Colonies for the common welfare, and if need were, to throw off a foreign yoke ; but not to cancel the safeguards of their domestic liberties, and the fundamental laws of the bodies politic whom they represented.

Under these charters, also, Rhode Island and Connecticut became parties to the Confederation of 1778. They entered into this league, not as mere aggregations of individuals, bound together by no tie but the interests of the moment ; but as sovereign States, legally constituted, formally governed, and acting by their appointed representatives. Under the same charters, also, the legislatures of these States called conventions of the people, who accepted the Federal Constitution of 1787, and thus became members of our present union. A new law was thus ratified in the same manner as the charters had been, — by conventions legally called and empowered to represent the whole people. This new law, in a certain sense, acted over the old governments of the several States, without displacing or destroying them. When Rhode Island signified her adherence to the Constitution in 1790, she received from the other parties to that instrument the guaranty of “ a republican form of government,” and an assurance of protection “ against invasion and against domestic violence.” Of course, those other parties, by admitting this State into the union, recognized her form of polity and her civil administration, as then established, as “ a republican government.” Otherwise, they were bound by this guaranty instantly to fit out troops, or adopt other measures, to create or restore the republicanism of that government.

Under the charters thus ratified and confirmed, not only by the people of Rhode Island and Connecticut, but by the authorities of the whole union, these two States continued to exist and to be governed for a long period. Connecticut retained her charter till 1818, when some changes being required by the voice of the people, legal measures were taken in due form, under the authority of the legislature, and in conformity to the practice in other States, to form a new

constitution, which was accepted and ratified by the people, and went peaceably into effect. Rhode Island retained hers till 1843, when, in the same manner, she formed and adopted a new constitution, which is now in operation. It is to the history of the contest which preceded this alteration in her form of government, that we are now to direct our attention.

But before we attempt to give a brief sketch of these occurrences, it is necessary to consider what was the law and the practice upon that point under the old government, on which the whole controversy turned; we mean the right of suffrage.* When Roger Williams and his associates formed a settlement at Providence, in 1636, they incorporated themselves into a "town fellowship." The earliest records of their proceedings, which are now extant, contain the following entry, under the date of August 20th, 1637.

"We, whose names are here under, desirous to inhabit the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active and passive obedience to all such orders and agreements as shall be made for public good of the body in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, *masters of families*, incorporated together into a town fellowship, and *others whom they shall admit* unto them, only in civil things."

The last clause, "only in civil things," marks the steadfast attachment of Roger Williams and his associates to the principles of religious liberty and the freedom of conscience. William Coddington and his company formed another settlement on the island of Rhode Island in 1637-8, and agreed to the following compact.

"We, whose names are underwritten, do swear solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, to *incorporate ourselves into a body politic*, and, as He shall help us, will submit our persons, our lives, and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, and to all those most perfect and absolute laws of His, given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby."

* We are indebted for many of the facts which follow, relating to the early history of Rhode Island, to an excellent memorial, respecting the suffrage question, addressed to the General Assembly early in 1842, and soon afterwards published in a pamphlet of twenty-four pages. It has no signature, but was written, we believe, by Judge Pitman, and bears for title only the following inscription: "To the Members of the General Assembly of Rhode Island." We are also under considerable obligation for historical facts to an admirable pamphlet on the same subject, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, written by Mr. Elisha R. Potter, now a member of the House of Representatives of the United States.

This company declared, in 1641-2, that their government was "a democracie, or popular government," and that the power to make laws, and depute ministers to execute them, was "in the *body of freemen*, orderly assembled, or a major part of them." They admitted to the elective franchise from time to time such other persons as came to join them, and "*upon orderly presentation were found meet for the service of the body, and no just exception against them.*" None but those regularly admitted were allowed to take part in the affairs of government, although it appears, from the separate lists kept of the freemen and the inhabitants, that many of the latter were not admitted. The two settlements, at Providence and on the island, were united into one, in 1643, under the first charter; and in 1647, they admitted into their company a third settlement, which had been formed at Warwick five years before. Thus it appears, that there were originally three distinct settlements in this State, entirely independent of each other. The charter obtained in 1663 required, that the General Assembly should be composed of the Governor, Deputy Governor, the Assistants, and "such of the freemen of the said Company as shall be so as aforesaid elected or deputed;" and it authorized the Assembly "to choose, nominate, and appoint such and so many other persons as they shall think fit, and shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said company and body politic, and them into the same to admit."

It seems, therefore, that the charter confined the right of suffrage to the "freemen" of the Company, as was formerly the case in Massachusetts; but the power rested entirely with the General Assembly to determine what qualifications should be required of a freeman. In other words, any person might be admitted free of the Company by those who were freemen, or voters, already. In 1665, the General Assembly, in pursuance of the authority thus granted to them, declared, "that all men *of competent estates*," and possessing "sufficient testimony of their fitness and qualifications as shall by the General Assembly be deemed satisfactory," should be admitted as freemen, and that no others should enjoy the like privilege. There was no need of requiring the ownership of real estate as a qualification, for, at that period, nearly all the permanent inhabitants of the Col-

ony were freeholders. By an act passed in February, 1723-4, the voter was required to possess real estate valued at £ 100, or that would rent for forty shillings *per annum*, or to be the eldest son of such a voter. In 1729, a law was passed, requiring that the freehold qualification should be of the value of £ 200, or £ 10 annual rent. Sixteen years afterwards, freemen were required to have freeholds of the value of £ 400, or £ 20 annual rent, "being their own real estate, or to be the eldest son of such a freeholder." In August, 1760, the value of the estate was required to be at least £ 40, lawful money, or forty shillings rent. In 1798, it was established at \$ 134, or seven dollars a year; and at this rate it remained till the adoption of the new constitution, in 1843.

"All these seeming inconsistencies," says Mr. Potter, "are easily explained by recurring to the history of the emission of paper money made by the Colonies. The qualifications of 1723-4, 1729-30, and 1746, are in old tenor, so called, the value of which was constantly depreciating. The qualification of 1760 is in lawful money, and, in 1798, was merely changed into dollars, at six shillings to a dollar."

The limitation of the right of suffrage to freeholders and the eldest sons of freeholders was but one of the grievances which produced the recent contest in Rhode Island. Another cause of complaint was the inequality of representation in the lower House of Assembly. The charter determined the number of representatives of the several towns by an arbitrary rule, without reference to future increase of population, or change of circumstances. The apportionment was probably correct in principle when it was adopted; but being continued without change for one hundred and seventy years, it became very unequal. Newport, which was the chief town in 1660, had four representatives; Providence, then a place of small importance, had but two; Warwick and Portsmouth had four each, and every other town two. But in 1824, the population of Providence was more than double that of Newport. Several towns which were entitled to only two representatives each, had twice as many inhabitants as Portsmouth, which sent four. The county of Providence, which included ten towns out of the thirty-one in the State, and had three fifths of the entire popula-

tion, sent twenty-two representatives, while the other counties sent fifty. The upper House of Assembly, consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and ten Senators, was chosen annually by "general ticket," and therefore equally represented the opinions of the majority of the voters.

The history of the several attempts to redress these grievances by a change in the fundamental laws of the State may be divided, for convenience, into three periods. The first extends from the adoption of the Federal Constitution by Rhode Island, in 1790, to the year 1824. The second, beginning in 1824, comes down to the publication of what was usually called the "Landholders' Constitution," in February, 1842. The third period embraces the events which occurred subsequently to the date last mentioned, and ends with the establishment of the new government in May, 1843.

During the first period, the people appeared satisfied with the existing form of government and the established laws, and no anxiety was expressed for a change. A motion was made in the House of Representatives, in 1799, to call a convention for the purpose of framing a constitution, one delegate to be allowed to every thousand inhabitants in a town. The motion prevailed by a small majority, but the bill was probably lost in the Senate, as we hear nothing of the project afterwards. In 1811, when there was an active political contest in the State, and the Democratic and Federal parties successively obtained the control of the government during the same year, a bill was prepared for the extension of suffrage, and it passed the Senate; but it was defeated in the other House, or was never presented there, and the scheme was not revived. In 1819, and the three following years, Mr. Dorr affirms, that the subject of a new constitution was again agitated, with a view to removing the inequalities of suffrage and representation; but we find no evidence of the fact, and the movement, therefore, could not have been a general one.

During this period of more than thirty years, the people appeared to be well contented with their existing institutions. They were even strongly attached to the charter and the laws, that were now hallowed by so many old associations; under which their ancestors had enjoyed the largest liberty, while nominally subject to a foreign monarch; which had

guided them through the storms of the Revolution, and made them members of the great federative republic ; which had kept their fathers' feet from stumbling, and had been a shield to them in their own years of infancy and childhood. The inequality in the representation of the towns was not yet very marked, and even where it was most apparent, it was not felt as a practical grievance. The towns were few in number, and the opposite extremities of this little State being hardly fifty miles apart, a contrariety or even a division of interests could not exist between the several communities inhabiting different portions of it, and unequal legislation was consequently impossible. The people were mostly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and owned the lands which they cultivated. A great majority of them, therefore, were freeholders, or belonged to families the heads of which were freeholders. The right of suffrage seemed to be in the proper hands, when it was vested in the owners of the soil and the heads of the families that formed the major part of the population.

But during the second period, some remarkable changes took place in the character of the population, and corresponding alterations in the fundamental laws at last appeared inevitable. Manufactures were introduced, and the inhabitants of some towns, which enjoyed facilities for this branch of industry, increased with astonishing rapidity. A division of interests was created between the different portions of the State by this variety of employment, and the more populous towns, the growth of which had been fostered by the new direction of labor and capital, became uneasy at observing the advantage which their agricultural neighbours possessed in the control of the Assembly. A larger amount of capital, moreover, was vested in personal estate. Some men of large fortunes owned not a foot of ground, and, consequently, had not the right to vote. It was very natural, that they should be jealous of the small farmers, who had now almost the entire management of the politics of the State. Then a loose and shifting population, composed of laborers in search of employment, was introduced into some towns by the growth of manufactures, and though they had no hold upon the State, and could hardly be considered as permanent residents in it, they were unwilling to live without the political influence which they had enjoyed in their former homes.

While such causes were at work to produce discontent with the existing laws, it is much to be regretted, that the freeholders did not soon perceive the necessity of granting a moderate extension of the right of suffrage. The constitution under the charter had worked well ; but a new state of things was growing up under it, and republican institutions must be flexible enough to adapt themselves to the changing circumstances of the times. Seasonable reforms prevent sweeping ones. "A froward retention of custom," says Lord Bacon, "is as turbulent a thing as an innovation. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived." A reasonable and judicious reduction of the qualifications required of a voter, if offered early in the period we are now considering, would have been satisfactory to the people, would have robbed the Suffrage party of any pretence or excuse for their illegal movements, and would have obviated the necessity of a more radical change, effected a few years later, amidst the tempests of a revolution. We do not say, that the Assembly should have made this concession *as a matter of right*. There was no *right* in the case, as will be hereafter demonstrated. But reform had become *expedient*, and it was unwise to withstand it so long. The excuse for the dilatory action of the freemen is to be found in the repose and apparent indifference of the people of the State respecting the whole subject. Agitation on the topic was long deferred, but it came at last like a whirlwind, and had wellnigh made wreck of the government and the laws. A deceitful calm preceded the movement. Petitions on this matter to the Assembly were few and far between, and it was but seldom discussed in the public journals. But the demagogues were at work, and the day of contest was at hand.

A convention was called by the General Assembly in 1824, for the purpose of forming a written constitution. The delegates were chosen by the freemen, or qualified voters. They came together in June, and completed their work in little more than a week. The constitution, which they devised, was adapted only to remedy the inequality in the representation of the towns, the qualifications for suffrage being retained as they were before, except that the right of

voting was taken away from the eldest sons of the freeholders. A clause was proposed to allow those who were not landholders to vote ; but it was supported only by three delegates, and therefore was not inserted in the draft of the constitution. The representation was made nearly equal, no town being allowed less than two, nor more than seven representatives, the number being varied between these limits according to the population. This constitution was submitted to the qualified voters, and was rejected by a majority of more than fifteen hundred, owing chiefly, as was supposed, to the jealousy which the other towns entertained of the city of Providence, the influence of which in the Assembly would have been much increased, had the proposed instrument been adopted. The whole vote was a very small one, being less than five thousand, when the whole number of voters in the State was at least eight thousand. This fact seems to show, that there was but little excitement on the subject, and that the people generally did not desire a change.

The matter was not allowed to rest, however, and a new interest in it being awakened in the city of Providence, in 1829, several petitions and memorials respecting an extension of the right of suffrage were presented to the General Assembly. They were referred to a Committee, and, in the June session of that year, a very able report upon them was made, written, we believe, by the late Mr. Hazard. The question in respect both to right and policy was thoroughly discussed, and it was strenuously denied, that the proposed change was either equitable or proper. This report was accepted, and the petitioners had leave to withdraw.

We hear nothing more of any formal action on the subject till 1834, though the topic was discussed from time to time during the interval, especially by those citizens of Providence who were not freeholders. Hitherto, the agitation had been entirely confined to this class of persons, the expediency of a change finding but few advocates among the freemen. But several members of the bar now united themselves to the party, improved its organization, and gave more method and respectability to its proceedings. Among these persons was Thomas W. Dorr, who was afterwards to act a very distinguished part in the matter. Under their guidance, the party determined to call a State convention, to

draw up the outlines of a constitution, lay them before the people, and then attempt to support them at the polls. The convention met, and recommended certain provisions in regard to the ratio of representation and the elective franchise. These were designed only to act upon public opinion, the whole proceedings being informal, as the convention was not authorized by the legal authorities. The desired effect was not produced, no decided impression being made upon the freeholders, and the party could never muster more than seven hundred votes out of eight thousand. In 1838, after a resolute struggle of four years, this "Constitutional party," as it was then termed, became extinct, after the members of it had given great moral power to the cause which they advocated, though they had produced hardly a perceptible effect on the opinions of the freemen.

Meantime, the General Assembly were not idle. They called another convention, in 1834, to amend the charter; but when Mr. Dorr, who was then a member of the House, proposed as an amendment, that all resident inhabitants of the State, who had paid a tax on real or personal estate valued at \$ 134, should be allowed to vote in the choice of delegates, the proposition was defeated by a vote of fifty-eight to four. The convention met, but several towns were not represented in it, and the members who were present probably did not intend to accomplish any thing. Before the draft of a constitution was completed, the body adjourned for want of a quorum, and never came together again.

No other decided movement was made till 1840. A very small minority in the House of Representatives made a motion, from time to time, to amend the charter, or to extend the elective franchise; but after very little debate, it was invariably voted down. Petitions on the subject were occasionally presented, but copies of them were not preserved, and it is, therefore, impossible to tell how numerous were the signers. It is not likely, that the number was great. The State was agitated by the discussion of national politics, the subject of a tariff, or the choice of a President, — and the attention of the inhabitants was thus diverted from their local concerns. Many persons, who were in favor of an extension of suffrage, refused to manifest their opinions at the polls, lest they should disturb the organization or the movements of the national party to which they belonged. This

reluctance to act showed that they felt no deep and abiding interest in the subject ; otherwise, they would not have been diverted from it by the contests of parties, the issue of which could not materially affect their immediate interests. We repeat it, then, the restrictions on the elective franchise and the unequal representation of the towns were not felt as practical grievances. The operation of the laws was equal, taxes were moderate, justice was impartially administered, and no person had any direct cause of complaint. He might murmur because he was not allowed to govern others ; but he could not assert, that he was ill governed himself. He felt a more lively interest, therefore, in the contest between the friends of General Harrison and Mr. Van Buren, than in the amendment of the constitution of his own State.

But after the great contest for the Presidency, in 1840, was ended, the agitation about the right of suffrage in Rhode Island revived at once, and almost immediately assumed a threatening aspect. A "Suffrage Association" was formed at Providence, composed mostly of persons who were not owners of real estate, and the whole machinery of discussion and turmoil was put in motion. Frequent meetings were held at the Town Hall, angry and exciting speeches were delivered, badges denoting membership were worn in public, processions displaying banners and accompanied with music marched through the streets, and every artifice was used to swell their apparent numbers and terrify their opponents. A person ignorant of the history of the case might have supposed, that some new question had arisen, some wrong suddenly discovered, or injury lately done, instead of thinking that the whole excitement depended on a question quite as old as the first settlement of the Colony. Other associations, auxiliary to the parent body, were formed in different parts of the State ; and lecturers were sent from Providence to the several towns, to make addresses to the people, and kindle their passions in support of the cause. The party avowed their determination to form a new constitution and government, without the aid of the legislature or the other constituted authorities, and to support their measures by force, or by an appeal to the legal tribunals, on the ground that the people were sovereign, and had a right to act for themselves, without regard to usages or laws.

Before we trace their proceedings further, it will be well

to consider separately the action of the established government down to the end of the period with which we are now concerned. The General Assembly came together in January, 1841, when petitions were presented to it, signed by less than six hundred persons, praying for the abrogation of the charter, an extension of the right of suffrage, and a more equal representation of the towns. This brought up the whole subject for discussion, and it was finally resolved, that delegates should be chosen for a new convention, to be held at Providence on the first Monday of November, 1841, with full powers to frame a new constitution. At the June session of the legislature, resolutions were adopted to allow the towns to be represented in the proposed convention by a number of delegates proportioned to their population, but restricting the choice of the delegates to the freemen, or qualified voters.

The convention met at the appointed time, and on the question of suffrage, at once decided to admit persons to vote who were not freeholders. But they found it difficult to determine how large an amount of personal property should be considered as a qualification for the elective franchise, and they finally adjourned to February 14th, 1842, in order to ascertain more fully the wishes of their constituents on this important point. When they met again, they soon completed the draft of a constitution, which gave the right of suffrage to "every white male native citizen of the United States," of the age of twenty-one years, who had resided in the State for two years, and in the town or city six months. In respect to the natives of foreign countries, who had been naturalized in the United States, the freehold qualification was retained. The Representatives were distributed among the towns quite equitably on the basis of the population. To make the list of concessions complete, it was determined, both by the convention and the General Assembly, that "all persons who shall be qualified to vote under the provisions of [this] Constitution, shall be qualified to vote upon the question of the adoption of said Constitution." It was to be submitted to the people, for ratification or rejection, on the 21st, 22d, and 23d days of March, 1842.

It must be admitted, that this instrument, commonly called the "Landholders' Constitution," was as bountiful a concession to popular rights as any party could reasonably de-

sire, and that it established a frame of government as liberal as any which existed in any State in the union. In respect to the elective franchise, the ratio of representation, and the mode proposed for its adoption, it granted all that had been claimed by any party or individual, down to the commencement of 1840. Its adoption would have remedied all existing difficulties, and would have insured the peace and prosperity of the State for a long period to come.

We return to the history of the proceedings of the Suffrage associations during the year 1841. On the 5th of May, they held at Newport what is called, in the political jargon of the day, a "mass" convention, — meaning, we suppose, a meeting of the "masses" of the people. How many were present at it, we are not informed; but those who did come passed many resolutions, and made many speeches, but adopted no definitive measures. They held an adjourned meeting at Providence, on the 5th of July, when they resolved by their own sovereign authority, without any sanction of law or usage, and without having been even nominally appointed or delegated by the towns to perform such an act, "that a convention of the people at large should be called for the formation of a *republican* constitution." They recommended, that all the towns should choose delegates, in the proportion of one to every thousand inhabitants, to meet at Providence on the 4th of October, "for the purpose aforesaid." Meetings were held, in pursuance of this notice, "in *nearly all* the towns of the State," of course, without any legal formalities, any person taking a part in them, and casting a vote, who saw fit. The whole number of these nominal votes is not known, there being no record of the proceedings; but it was said to be about 7,000, the whole population of the State being rather more than 108,000. "A large majority" of the delegates thus chosen met in convention, and after one adjournment, completed the draft of a constitution, which they determined to submit "to the people" for adoption on the 27th, 28th, and 29th days of December. The convention likewise assumed the power to determine who should be allowed to vote for or against their constitution. The voters were required to be Ameri-

* We are indebted for most of these facts and citations to "Governor Dorr's inaugural message to his legislature, on the 5th of May, 1842."

can citizens, twenty-one years of age, and having their domicile in the State, "but without any limitation of sex, color, place of nativity, or any fixed period of residence whatever."* Of course, no fault could be found with such a right of suffrage on the score of illiberality.

In the constitution itself, which was commonly called the "People's Constitution," the elective franchise was a little more restricted. The right of voting was given to "every white male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, who has resided in this State for one year, and in the town where he votes six months." With the exception of requiring one year's residence, instead of two, and admitting naturalized citizens to vote without a freehold qualification, this provision coincided with the corresponding one in the "Landholder's Constitution." These two exceptions are evidently of slight importance, and in nearly every other important particular, the two instruments were alike. Open meetings were to be held in the several towns, on the three specified days in December, to receive the votes of those who came personally to accept or reject the "People's Constitution"; and those who, "*from sickness or other causes*, may be unable to attend and vote," were requested to write their names on the back of a ticket, cause it to be certified by the signature of another person, and send it to the meeting on either of the three days next succeeding the three days already mentioned. The business of receiving votes was extended in this anomalous way through a whole week.

During the first three days, about 9,000 votes were collected from the hands of the voters themselves, though with how much caution the pretensions of such voters were scrutinized in these informal and illegal meetings, we are left to imagine. During the remaining three days, through the privilege of going about to the citizens' houses and obtaining their votes, the *names* of about 5,000 more were handed in, making an aggregate of 14,000. As the adult white male population of the State was supposed to be about 22,000, the friends of extended suffrage at once declared, that their constitution was supported by the votes of more than three fifths of the people. That the grossest frauds were practis-

* Potter's *Considerations on the Rhode Island Question*, p. 19.

ed in order to obtain this nominal majority cannot be doubted, whether we consider the extravagant and unprecedented character of the plan for obtaining and counting the votes, the entire absence of legal guards and checks, and the fact that, on subsequent trials, under an elective franchise equally liberal, when the party used every effort to bring out their entire strength, for the undisputed control of the State was the prize at issue, they were never able to muster much more than half of the number which they claimed on this occasion. There was a show of fairness at the time, caused by offering all their votes, each of which was indorsed with the name of the person presenting it, for examination to the General Assembly; but that body, of course, took no notice of the proposal, as it did not recognize the legality of any part of the proceedings. "The People's convention," also, authorized the secretaries to copy the registry of the voters or the votes themselves, for the use of any person who applied for them. But when individuals began to take advantage of this permission, the "Suffrage Association" of Providence actually undertook to overrule the order of the convention, countermanded this authority, and prevented the issue of any more copies.

To give some idea of the gross character of the frauds which were practised, we extract a passage from Mr. Potter's pamphlet.

"In the town of Newport, they have long been charged with committing the greatest frauds, and the reason they have never attempted to disprove these charges is, probably, because they could not be refuted. They claimed to have obtained 1,207 votes for the people's constitution, of whom they say 317 were freemen.

"In making up the whole number of 1,207, they took the names of the soldiers at the United States fort, of the people at work for the government at Fort Adams, and of people who had been, for a long time, gone to sea, or absent from the State. And, from an actual and careful examination of the list of their voters, it is estimated by a person, who is probably better qualified to judge than any other man in that town, that not more than 750, at most, out of the 1,207, were qualified to vote even upon the very liberal terms of the people's constitution, which admitted foreigners to vote for it, and required no specific period of residence. And when, only three months afterwards, in March, 1842, the vote was taken upon the legal constitution, and every

person, who had resided in the State two years, was admitted to vote, and only foreigners and the transient population excluded, the people's party, notwithstanding they brought every man to the polls, could only obtain 361 votes against it. Here is a falling off from 1,207, when they took the vote in their own way, to 361, when it was taken in legal town meeting, where the votes were challenged, and the transient population excluded. And both parties together, at this same town meeting, could only obtain 1,091 votes, while the people's party claimed to have obtained for theirs, 1,207 votes.

"Again: they claim to have obtained, in Newport, 317 freemen for the people's constitution. The same gentleman, before referred to, who personally knows almost every freeman in the town, estimates that, at least, ninety of these were no freemen at all. And, of the others, a great number voted merely as an expression of opinion, and some for party purposes. How else, if there was no fraud, can it be accounted for, that, in the legal town meeting, where the very same freemen voted, subject, however, to a legal scrutiny, this vote fell off from 317 to 102, and that both parties together could only obtain 475. At the town meeting in December, the people's party had all their own way. The other was conducted according to law, although the same people voted, and every effort was made on both sides.

"Such frauds as these would be most likely to be committed in the cities and large manufacturing towns, such as Newport, Providence, Smithfield, Cumberland, Warwick, &c. In a great many of the country towns, the vote was probably very fairly conducted." — pp. 58, 59.

We have now come to the third period that we indicated, and the whole State seems to present "the confusion of king Agramant's camp." There are the government and the General Assembly, legally organized under the charter, exercising an authority which had not before been questioned for two hundred years, and firmly supported, for the time being, by the whole body of the freeholders, and a large portion of the other well informed and respectable inhabitants. There is the "People's Constitution," alleged to be sanctioned and adopted by a great majority of the entire population, and only waiting the short time appointed by its friends to be put in operation, and to claim absolute sovereignty in the State. There is the "Landholders' Constitution," abiding a verdict of approval or rejection, to be rendered in a few weeks by the whole body of voters empowered to act

under its provisions. If the true issue could have been presented at this time between the friends and the opponents of the illegal measures adopted by the Suffrage party, there is no question that this "Landholders' Constitution" would have been adopted by a considerable majority. But unluckily, many of the freeholders were so fanatically attached to the charter, that they resisted every attempt to place the government upon a new basis; and when the day of voting came, they either stayed away from the polls, or threw their votes against the new constitution, without reflecting, that such conduct in fact strengthened the hands of their greatest opponents. The Suffrage party, also, exerted themselves strenuously against it, and the consequence was, that the new instrument was defeated, though by a small majority. The numbers were 8,689 to 8,013. At least one thousand freeholders voted against it, for the reason we have just stated, and this number, being deducted from the larger vote, reduces it to a minority; and thus it is conclusively shown, even without reckoning the freemen who stayed away from the polls on the same grounds which induced many of their fellows to cast a negative vote, that the major part of the people, reckoned under a most liberal elective franchise, were opposed to what was facetiously denominated the "People's Constitution."

The result of this trial also established another curious fact; that the same party which boasted of obtaining a vote of 14,000 in December, when there were no checks or legal restrictions established at their informal assemblies, and consequently every person who pleased voted for himself or brought in a vote by proxy, when they came to another trial, only three months afterwards, under a law nearly or quite as liberal in determining the qualifications of the voters, but guarded by proper formalities, could not muster but about 7,600 votes. And we may mention here, that at several subsequent elections, when the same faction exerted their whole strength, they could throw but little more than 7,000 votes, which is about one third of what might be cast in the State under the present liberal constitution. It is now demonstrated, therefore, — what was believed from the outset, — that the friends of the *soidisant* "People's Constitution" never constituted more than one third of the people of the State.

The legal government was now still in the hands of the authorities established under the charter, and it was blindly and furiously opposed by a faction, that had just rejected a constitution *granting all that they had at first asked*, and who were now determined to establish by force an instrument of their own making, confessedly formed, "not only without the law, but against the law." Their conduct was as violent as their principles were unfounded and absurd. Flags were hung up in the streets of Providence and other places, bearing the motto, "The constitution is established, and it must be maintained." Meetings were held, and exciting speeches made, denouncing the government and the laws, and exhorting the members of the party to be ready with arms in their hands for a bloody contest in support of their principles. The flame was now fanned by the efforts of politicians in other States, eager to turn this excitement to their own advantage, and careless about the issue of a conflagration which seemed too distant to menace the buildings that sheltered *them*. The agitation was at its height. Families were divided, and brothers, fathers, and sons were arrayed on opposite sides. In short, a revolution was in progress; and for what? Because the insurgent party refused to accept, in legal form, from the hands of the constituted authorities, all that they demanded as their due; but were resolved to establish their claims in their own right, or by their own authority; and, if necessary, to vindicate their pretensions by an armed force, and all the atrocities of a civil war.

The alarm was now general throughout the State, though the focus of agitation was in Providence, where the opponents of the government mustered in greatest force, and were supported by deputations from the laboring population of the manufacturing villages in the neighbourhood, and along the course of the Blackstone. In the agricultural towns, the people, who were chiefly small farmers, were tranquil, and were strongly attached to the existing government. But they had friends and relatives in the city, and they knew not what might be the issue of the struggle, or how soon they might be subjected to a government created by a faction, and established by violence. The General Assembly was firm, and, at an extra session called in March, taking into view the resolutions already passed by the Suffrage party,

“ That they will support their Constitution by all necessary means, and repel force by force,” empowered the Governor to issue a proclamation, warning all good citizens against these illegal proceedings ; and they authorized him “ to adopt such measures as in his opinion may be necessary, during the recess of the legislature, to execute the laws, and preserve the State against domestic violence.” They also passed the law called, in the vulgar phrase of their opponents, the “ Algerine Act,” making it a high offence, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for any persons to act as officers in illegal town meetings, called for pretended elections, or to signify that they would accept office under such elections ; and declaring further, that if any persons should attempt to exercise any legislative, executive, or ministerial functions of office in the State, by virtue of such pretended elections, or should assemble for the purpose of exercising such functions, they should be deemed guilty of treason, and be punished by imprisonment for life. It was also provided in the act, that the trials might be held in any part of the State, without regard to the county wherein the offence was committed.

Notwithstanding the terrors of this law, elections under the “ People’s Constitution ” were held at the appointed time, on the 18th of April, in every town in the State, under such forms as the party saw fit to observe. It was rather difficult to find persons willing to serve, as many declined the dangerous honor. But the vacancies on the nomination list were filled as fast as they were created, and eventually, Thomas W. Dorr was chosen governor, all the executive offices were filled, a full Senate was chosen, and the great part of a House of Representatives. Less than 6,500 votes were cast on this occasion ; while, at an ordinary election under the charter, a year or two before, more than 8,000 freemen voted. Which party, then, had the majority ? About the same time, the legal elections took place, and the Whigs and Democrats of Rhode Island, forgetting their old disputes at this crisis, united under the name of the “ Law and Order Party,” chose Samuel W. King, Esq., governor, and filled the other offices about equally from their respective ranks. Thus, two sets of officers were chosen in the State, both bound to begin the exercise of their functions at the appointed time in May, their adherents being pledged to support them by all necessary means.

The Governor, thinking the crisis contemplated by the legislature had now arrived, made a formal requisition on the President of the United States for assistance, under that provision of the Federal Constitution which requires the national government to render aid to any State that is threatened with domestic violence. With the unanimous advice and consent of his cabinet, the President replied, in a firm but conciliatory tone, promising the required aid whenever any overt act of violence should be committed. We give the following extract from his letter to Governor King, dated April 11th, 1842.

"I have to assure your Excellency, that, should the time arrive, (and my fervent prayer is, that it may never come,) when an insurrection shall exist against the government of Rhode Island, and a requisition shall be made upon the Executive of the United States to furnish that protection which is guaranteed to each State by the Constitution and laws, *I shall not be found to shrink from the performance of a duty which, while it would be the most painful, is at the same time the most imperative.* I have also to say, that, in such a contingency, the Executive could not look into real or supposed defects of the existing government, in order to ascertain whether some other plan of government proposed for adoption was better suited to the wants, and more in accordance with the wishes of any portion of her citizens. To throw the executive power of this government into any such controversy would be to make the President the armed arbitrator between the people of the different States and their constituted authorities, and might lead to an usurped power, dangerous alike to the stability of the State governments and the liberties of the people.

"It will be my duty, on the contrary, to respect the requisitions of that government which has been recognized as the existing government of the State through all time past, until I shall be advised, in regular manner, that it has been altered and abolished, and another substituted in its place, by legal and peaceable proceedings, adopted and pursued by the authorities and people of the State."

Unappalled by this firm language, or by the union in opinion and action of the established authorities of the State and the whole nation against them, the misguided adherents of the Suffrage party continued their preparations for the contest. So menacing was their attitude, that another extra session of the General Assembly was called at Providence, on

the 25th of April, to make further provision for the emergency. A firm determination was manifested by this body to support the government, but as a new legislature was to meet in little more than a week at Newport, nothing was done at this session, which lasted only two days, except to authorize the Governor to take measures to protect the public property and to fill vacancies in the militia. The friends of law began now to prepare for defence. Arms and ammunition were obtained, disaffected companies were disbanded, volunteers were enrolled, men of all ages and occupations entered the ranks, frequent drills were held, and the city wore almost the appearance of a camp. Still, many persons hesitated, and the preparations were very incomplete. Some doubted whether the insurgents would dare to proceed to extremities ; some wished to remain neutral in the hour of peril, and then to swell the host of the victors ; and each desired that its opponent should be the first to strike a blow.

The 3d of May arrived, and the officers chosen under the "People's Constitution" assembled at Providence, to organize their government. They could not obtain possession of the State House, but they borrowed for the occasion an unfinished wooden building, of small pretensions in point of architecture, that had been intended for a foundery. A procession was formed, consisting of the executive officers and the legislature, with their adherents, and, under a military escort, it marched to this place of assembly. The guard was composed of five hundred men, armed with muskets and ball cartridges, and more than a thousand unarmed persons joined the ranks. The military mounted guard round the building during the hours of session, escorted the "Governor" to and from the place of meeting, and kept watch at his house during the night. Mr. Dorr delivered a formal message to his "Senators and Representatives," and the usual formalities of legislative meetings were observed, as far as the knowledge and experience of the parties would permit.

The "Governor" earnestly advised his party to adopt active measures at once to seize the State House and other public property ; but a majority of his legislature refused to take such a decisive step, and he has since bitterly complained of their vacillation and timidity at this time, which ruined the cause. His advice was certainly judicious, and if the

party had supported him with courage, they might have triumphed. The time for caution and deliberation had passed. By the terms of the "Algerine Act," they had all committed an overt act of treason, and the only proper alternative now was to go forward and fight, or to disband and submit to the penalties of the law. The friends of the legal government had not completed their preparations; they were almost stupefied at the audacity of the insurgents; and, as peaceable citizens, who had never before been called out of the quiet walks of life, they shrunk from a contest with desperate men, who had nothing to lose but their lives. *They*, also, are justly exposed to the charge of remissness and indecision at this crisis. Half a dozen of the ordinary minions of the law, armed only with a common warrant from a justice of the peace, we believe, might have arrested half of Dorr's "Assembly." A large portion of the insurgent troops had a greater dread of a constable than of a musket, and though they might have stood to their arms against a military force, they would probably have fled at the sight of a warrant.

But the proper hour for action was missed by both parties, and the contest was therefore protracted. The usurping legislature passed a few insignificant resolutions, made a show of repealing the "Algerine Act," and then, after a session of only two days, adjourned to July 5th. Meanwhile, the General Assembly elected by the freemen came together at Newport, May 4th, to organize the legal government for the ensuing year. Roused by the insulting conduct of the Suffrage faction, they determined to vindicate the dignity of the State, and to support the authority of the law, by vigorous measures. Another requisition for aid was sent to the President of the United States by their authority, the former one having been issued by the Governor alone. President Tyler answered as before, that assistance should be given as soon as any act of open violence should be committed; and the pledge was soon partially redeemed by sending two or three companies of United States troops to Newport, with orders, as it was understood, as soon as a blow was struck, to take an active part on the side of the legal government. Two members of Dorr's legislature from Newport were arrested immediately on their return to that city, on a charge of treason. Many other arrests were made at Providence,

on the same charge, of persons who had assumed legislative or executive functions. Great commotion ensued, and crowds of people attended the accused to the place of examination ; but only one attempt at a rescue was made, and that was stopped by the prudence of the person in custody. Dorr himself was surrounded by armed adherents, and, as it was supposed that an attempt to seize his person would lead to the shedding of blood, he was allowed to remain at liberty. He soon left the city, to seek for aid and countenance in New York and Washington.

The turmoil at Providence seemed to increase, and nearly all business was suspended. The most violent threats were uttered by the insurgent party, and the newspapers in their interest published the names of all the magistrates and other officers, who were active in making arrests, and mentioned their places of residence, with a hand pointing towards them, as if to guide the mob and the torch to their doors.* Governor King returned from Newport to Providence, and was escorted into the city by about three hundred soldiers, and six hundred citizens without arms. Active military preparations were continued on both sides. On the 16th of May, Dorr returned from New York, where he had made speeches to large assemblies of the populace, had received the gift of a sword, and had prepared a bombastic proclamation for the inhabitants of Rhode Island, promising to make their State the battle ground of American liberty. He entered Providence in a barouche drawn by four white horses, attended by nearly twelve hundred men, of whom two hundred and fifty were under arms. He took up his quarters at the house of Burrington Anthony, at Federal Hill, on the outskirts of the city, and was there guarded by his troops. His intention was openly avowed to seize the public property by force of arms, and emissaries were sent to bring in his armed adherents from the country, to swell the number of the forces. Probably three or four hundred were in this way collected, with two small field pieces ; and, by some unaccountable negligence on the side of the govern-

* " In recommending the massacre of all aristocrats, he [Marat] scrupled not to proclaim through his paper, the '*Ami du Peuple*,' that 270,000 heads must fall by the guillotine: and he published lists of persons whom he consigned to the popular vengeance and destruction by their names, description, and places of residence." Brougham's *Statesmen*, 3d series, p. 107.

ment party, a company of them were allowed to come down into the city on the afternoon of Tuesday the 17th, and carry off, without resistance, two brass six pounders from one of the armories.

Meanwhile, the friends of the government were not idle. The citizens of Providence were requested to prepare for the defence of the city, and arms were furnished them for the purpose. The shops were closed, the business at the college was suspended. Professors and students, judges who had grown gray on the bench, and old men who had never before shouldered a musket, joined the ranks, and submitted to the drill. Guards were stationed at proper places, and patrols were established for the streets at night. Information being received, that the Arsenal, where a large quantity of arms and ammunition was stored, was to be the first object of attack, a company of infantry and one of artillery were stationed there, in addition to the ordinary guard of thirty men, and a number of volunteers. A steamboat was despatched to Warren, Bristol, and Newport, to bring in the troops from those places.

During the evening, about a hundred armed men from Woonsocket and other towns joined Dorr, and, before midnight, his force was increased to three or four hundred. At one o'clock on the morning of the 18th, two signal guns were fired from his quarters, as if to inform his enemies as well as his friends, that the attack was to be made. The bells of Providence instantly tolled the alarm, according to the preconcerted plan, three strokes from one being followed by three strokes from another, and so on, round the city. The citizens flocked to the alarm posts, and among them were seen the aged father, the uncle, and the brothers-in-law of the leader of the insurgents. Parties were sent out to strengthen the guard at the Arsenal, but the troops of Dorr were on the ground before them. With two hundred and fifty soldiers, and two pieces of artillery, he marched to attack this strong building, situated on an open plain about a mile and a half out of the city, surrounded by stone walls, and protected by at least an equal number of armed men, and five cannon. Passing round the city, and not through it, the insurgents arrived there some hours before daybreak, and sent a message requiring the garrison to surrender. The commander, Colonel Blodgett, returned a contemptuous re-

fusal, and the artillery of the insurgents being then brought to the front, Dorr ordered his men to fire. The match was applied, but only the priming powder flashed, for some more prudent friend of the cause, without the knowledge of his fellows, had drawn the charge, and plugged the pieces. The men within the Arsenal waited for the first discharge before opening their own fire, which, from the exposed position of their opponents, must have been very destructive. But not a shot came, and it soon appeared, that the courage of the rebels had failed, and that parties of them were already retiring from the field without waiting for orders. The reinforcements from the city were advancing, and as the night was very dark, a heavy fog hanging over the river and the plain, hostile companies, not distinguishable by any peculiarity of dress or equipment, passed each other unchallenged. "The officer first in command under me," says Dorr, "had disappeared, and he was followed by others. Delay occurred in altering the position of the pieces." Most of the soldiers having retired, "I directed the pieces to be withdrawn, and left the ground at daylight with thirty-five or forty men. None remained behind after we had retired."

At daylight, the Mayor issued a notice, requiring the citizens to close their places of business during the day, and to meet at their alarm posts, at half past seven o'clock. The steamboat arrived at seven, bringing in the companies from Newport and the other towns. Five hundred soldiers, with six field-pieces, were then placed under the command of Colonel Blodgett, accompanied by Governor King, and moved towards Federal Hill, with the determination to arrest Dorr. Most of the insurgents had dispersed; but thirty or forty desperate men, half intoxicated, remained; and they loaded to the muzzle two pieces of cannon, which they still possessed, brought them forward so as to command the street by which the troops were to ascend to Dorr's headquarters, and stood by them with lighted matches, prepared to fire. Colonel Blodgett ordered a detachment to go round to their rear, and then, with the main body of his men, marched steadily up the street. The insurgents dared not fire, but gradually drew back with their cannon, till the troops came up to Anthony's house, which Governor King, with a company of soldiers, entered and searched, but without success. Dorr had gone off about two hours before. A num-

ber of men on horseback were instantly sent in pursuit, but he had the start of them, and was soon in safety beyond the limits of the State. The small party, who still held the two cannon, were then required to surrender. They refused, and the word was about to be given to fire upon them, when one of their leaders came forward, and said he had lost all command over them, for they were drunk and reckless; but if left to themselves, they would soon give up the cannon and disperse. Willing to avoid the effusion of blood, Governor King drew off the troops. The cannon were soon returned, and the last of the insurgents disappeared.

The detestable character of this revolt, and the prompt manner in which it was repressed by the government, had their proper effect on many of the misguided persons, who had hitherto been active in the party of the insurgents. On the morning of the 18th, most of the members of Dorr's legislature from the city of Providence resigned their offices, and published a handbill reprobating in the strongest terms the late violent proceedings, and in fact denouncing their former leader. Their example was soon followed by most of the *soidisant* executive officers and legislators appointed from the other towns. Dorr was now left almost alone among the former leaders of the party, and, the "government" created under him having in fact dissolved itself, one would suppose, that neither pretence, means, nor inclination remained to him for continuing the revolt. But the dogged resoluteness of his character was opposed to any sign of submission, and his vanity being elated by the praises heaped upon him in some assemblages of the ignorant populace in the other States, he persevered in the attempt with a determination that savored of insanity. Little effort on his part was needed to keep up the excitement among the unthinking and uneducated classes, whose passions had first been roused by false statements and heated declamation, and whose ardor was now sustained and even increased by the electric influences of a revolutionary contest. It is easy, under such circumstances, to stir the passions of a multitude to madness, but a mighty power is required in order to direct or allay the storm.

The agitation that prevailed, the threatening language that was still used, and occasional rumors of insurgent gatherings in different parts of the State did not permit the legal author-

ities to relax in their vigilance, nor the inhabitants to feel secure, till Dorr should be apprehended, or a more signal blow be struck. The Governor issued his proclamation, offering a reward of one thousand dollars for the arrest and delivery of this fugitive from justice ; and this offer was subsequently, by order of the General Assembly, increased to five thousand ; but without effect. He was known to be lurking somewhere on the borders of the State, concerting measures with his adherents for another outbreak ; but his movements and policy were too well concealed to admit of the discovery or seizure of his person. The military organization of the State, therefore, was still kept up, and a sickening uncertainty and suspense rested on people's minds. Business had long been at a stand, and the aspect of affairs was gloomy. No clue could be obtained to the secret movements of the insurgents, but report magnified their numbers and means, and stories were current respecting great promises of aid to them from the populace of New York and other cities. That such stories were not entirely without foundation appears from the violent and incendiary character of the speeches made by some of the street orators in these cities, about this period. "You stand here idle," said one to a large assemblage in State Street, Boston, "you stand here idle, while those aristocrats in Rhode Island are pouring out the blood of your brethren like water upon the pavement." In respect either to the falsity of the charge, or to the fiendlike nature of the only purpose with which it could have been uttered, a parallel to this speech can be found only in the detestable ravings of Danton or Marat.

Incidents occurred, from time to time, that showed the continued, though secret, activity of the hostile party, and that preparations were making for another struggle. There were indications of a general movement in the northern parts of the State, and especially in the city and county of Providence, where the faction had always been most numerous and violent. Bands of armed men appeared suddenly in Woonsocket, North Providence, Cumberland, Gloucester, and other places, and great pains were taken to collect arms and munitions of war. A party of them, about fifty in number, made an attempt, one dark and stormy night, to get possession of some cannon in the hands of an artillery company, about nine miles distant from Providence, having pro-

vided themselves with four horses in order to carry the pieces off. In the darkness, they missed the place where the cannon were deposited, and broke open two other buildings. By this time, the guard had alarmed the town, and there were soon two hundred and fifty armed men in the streets. But the marauders succeeded in making their escape, though without having effected their object. A few days afterwards, a powder magazine in the neighbourhood of the city was discovered to have been broken open, and about twelve hundred pounds of gunpowder carried off. It was easy to perceive the motive of this class of thefts, the end being quite as *patriotic*, as the means were honorable.

At last, about the 20th of June, news arrived, that the insurgents were assembling in great force at Chepachet, a considerable village of the town of Gloucester, near the Connecticut line ; that they had taken possession of an eminence there, called Acote's hill, and were fortifying it by throwing up entrenchments. Field-works were thrown up on two sides of the summit, with wide spaces for the cannon, of which there were seven pieces. The first accounts were, that seven or eight hundred men had come together, that many others were on their way to join them, and that they were all well supplied with arms and ammunition. To the major part of the people of Rhode Island, weary of repeated alarms and reports of treasonable machinations, this information of the renewal of the contest brought rather a feeling of relief than of terror or discouragement. Now that the insurrection had come to a head, by a vigorous effort it might be crushed, and it would no longer be necessary

"Against the undivulged pretence to fight
Of treasonous malice."

Their spirits and courage were high, strengthened, as they were, by the recollection of former success, and by a conviction of the justice of their cause ; and when the call was sounded, they rallied to the support of the government with a quickness and energy, that promised a speedy termination of the contest. The General Assembly passed an act, placing the whole State under martial law. Volunteers were called for, and more than a thousand citizens of Providence enrolled themselves in a single day. All places of business were closed, and men of all ages, ranks, and professions again assumed the duties of common soldiers. Providence,

Warren, Bristol, and Newport had the appearance of so many camps, the citizens remaining almost constantly under arms, and devoting day and night to military exercises. Steamboats were despatched down the Bay to bring together the troops, and by the evening of the 26th, more than three thousand were collected in Providence, well supplied with arms, and others were constantly coming in. Thirteen pieces of ordnance were provided, and the government stores of ammunition were ample. General McNeil was appointed to the chief command, and he was assisted by many gentlemen capable of rendering efficient aid both in council and in action.

Dorr joined the camp of the insurgents on the 25th, and immediately issued a proclamation, requiring his "General Assembly," which had been adjourned to meet at Providence, to come together at Gloucester; that is, into the midst of his forces; and he requested those towns in which vacancies had occurred by resignation, to proceed forthwith to fill them by new elections. This last clause was a very necessary one, for there were hardly half a dozen members of his legislature who had not resigned. He also issued "General Orders," countersigned by his "Adjutant-General," requiring "the military of this State," who were in favor of the "People's Constitution," to repair forthwith to his head-quarters, and requesting all volunteers to do the same. But even those newspapers in Providence, which had hitherto advocated his cause, refused to publish these orders, and they could be printed only in New York. Many of his former friends in Providence, also, as Dorr himself declares, "were led to renounce and denounce our proceedings, as no longer to be 'tolerated'; and they subscribed a paper to this effect." In truth, the utmost efforts of the more violent members of the insurgent party could not bring together more than a very paltry force at Chepachet; and, if their weakness had been known, a great part of the labor of preparation for putting down the rebellion might have been spared. But it was impossible to obtain information that could be relied upon. Their leader affirms, that on the 27th, they had but two hundred and twenty-five men under arms, although "a much larger number of persons came and went as spectators, some of whom may have been set down as a part of the military." They had

seven pieces of artillery, and more muskets than they could use. It was *men* that they needed. Dorr himself remarks, with infinite simplicity and astonishment, that "the people were called, and they did not come."

The first act of hostility was committed by the insurgents. A party of four persons, who went out from Providence to obtain information respecting the movements of the rebels, were met by a detachment from Dorr's camp, and taken prisoners. "They were disarmed, robbed, and bound, and marched off twelve miles on foot to Woonsocket." A movement of a mob of "*sympathizers*" from another State led to the only loss of life, that occurred during the contest. On the 27th, a crowd of persons collected in Pawtucket, Massachusetts, apparently determined to cross the bridge and enter Rhode Island. The government had posted a company of soldiers to keep guard at the Rhode Island end of the bridge. In the evening, the mob began to press on; they assailed the guard with brickbats and other missiles, and wounded one or more. They were ordered to disperse, and when they would not obey, a volley of musketry was fired over their heads. Still they persisted, and the order to fire was given, and, being obeyed, one man was killed, and probably one or two others were slightly wounded.

The organization of the government forces being completed on the 27th, General McNeil prepared to march against the insurgents; and, with that purpose, ordered a considerable detachment to go round into their rear, so as to cut off their retreat into Connecticut. The steps of this party, and of the main body, were soon hastened by a report, that the hostile camp was already breaking up, and the men dispersing to their several homes. At the bare rumor of the approach of so large an array against them, the insurgent force dissolved like snow in the sunbeams. Dorr summoned a council of his officers on that day, and the order to dismiss the troops was given at seven o'clock in the evening; an hour afterwards, he himself left the camp, and made his escape into Connecticut. But the obstinate fatuity of the man appears in the senseless boast, which he afterwards uttered, that, if an attack was not made, on the night of the 27th, upon Greenville, the nearest post held by the government forces, the failure should be attributed, not to the terror

inspired by the number of troops arrayed against them, "but to our repudiating friends." A rumor of these occurrences hastened the advance of the troops, who pressed on without halting during the night, though it was very dark, and the rain poured in torrents. A few hours after daybreak, on the morning of the 27th, a considerable force, under Colonel Brown, entered the fort at Chepachet, where they found only the deserted tents and abandoned artillery of the insurgents. They had taken about a hundred prisoners on the way; but the body of Dorr's adherents had dispersed, never to appear in arms again. Dorr himself lived as an unnoticed fugitive in New Hampshire or Massachusetts, till a few months ago, when he returned to Rhode Island, where he was immediately arrested, and is now in prison there, awaiting his trial for treason. The numerous other persons, who were arrested for treasonable conduct, have been contemptuously discharged, we believe, without punishment.

We have only to add, in order to complete our historical sketch of the whole affair, that the General Assembly of Rhode Island, indefatigable in its efforts to create a form of government that would satisfy the whole people, passed an act in June for calling another Convention, the delegates to which were to be chosen by all male citizens of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, who had had a permanent residence in the State for three years or more. This body came together in September, and framed a constitution free even from the trifling objections that were made to the one proposed by the "Landholders' Convention" in the preceding February, and constituting a government as liberal and equal in respect to the elective franchise, the representation of the towns, and all other points, as that which exists in any State of the Union. This instrument was submitted to the people in November, and adopted by an overwhelming vote, the Suffrage party making no opposition to it, but staying away from the polls. After it was accepted, however, they determined to register their names under it as voters, and to make another trial to obtain the command of the State through the ballot box. The election took place in the spring, and though they used every effort, they were again defeated by a large majority, and did not succeed in polling much over 7,000 votes. In view of these facts, and of the whole history of the latter part of the

contest, so far as it affords the means of estimating the number of persons arrayed on the opposite sides, we ask again, whether it is even conceivable, that the majority of 14,000, alleged to have been obtained for the "People's Constitution," in December, 1841, was any thing more than a base and shameless fraud?

We here close our historical sketch of this remarkable contest, which we have endeavoured to render as succinct and faithful as possible, having made no statements, as is believed, but those which are admitted on both sides, and which are universally known to be true. With this purpose in view, we have relied as much for authority on the speeches and letters of Mr. Dorr and his friends, as on the publications of their opponents. All the pamphlets and published letters and speeches, which grew out of this controversy, are very interesting, and most of them, on either side, are written with great ability. Those which are mentioned at the head of this article, form but a small portion of the number that we have examined, for the subject was one of paramount importance, and, sooner or later, it engaged nearly all the legal and literary talent in the State. Mr. Goddard handles the question with the taste and elegance of the scholar, and the perspicuity of statement and force of reasoning which are characteristic of a well disciplined mind. A great amount of historical and legal information is brought to bear upon it by Judge Pitman, and while his appeals to the good sense and patriotism of his fellow citizens show great sincerity and depth of feeling, his argument manifests the impartiality, the comprehensiveness of view, the vigorous logic, and the other high qualities of intellect that are developed and strengthened by long experience on the bench of justice. Mr. Whipple's pamphlet is a masterly display of forensic talent, and is worthy of his high reputation as the head of the Rhode Island bar. Leaving the authorities and the facts to be cited and applied by others, he goes directly to the abstract subject of dispute, and builds upon it an argument at once compact, sweeping, nervous, and unanswerable, while he fairly riddles the showy pretences and thin sophistry of his opponents. Of Judge Durfee's "Charge to the Grand Jury," we can only say, that it exhibits broad and generous views of the first principles of political science, and of the great truths on which the whole theory of government and

social life is founded, and that these principles and truths are made to bear with irresistible force on the case in hand.

On the other side, nearly the whole weight of the argument rests on the shoulders of Mr. Dorr, and it must be admitted, that he sustains the burden with great gallantry and steadiness. His intellect is acute, but not comprehensive; his argument is logical, but not convincing, for the premises are unsound. He displays an amount of talent and information, that leads one to doubt his sincerity in the foolish and wicked cause in which he embarked, notwithstanding the pertinacity with which he clung to it under every kind of discouragement and defeat. His writings and actions show a mind of good natural endowments and tolerable cultivation, great argumentative power, considerable tact and executive ability in the conduct of affairs, much ambition guided by little principle, and an indomitable obstinacy of character, that fitted him in an eminent degree to be the leader of a faction, and the manager of a protracted contest.

He had, at least, one coadjutor out of his native State, whose name we are sorry to see connected with such a cause. It is a source of deep regret and mortification, that one who had long sustained an unspotted character in the most elevated judicial station in Massachusetts, and who had recently been appointed to the Chief Magistracy, should so far be blinded by his political opinions and aspirations, as to appear, in some measure, as the defender of revolt in a neighbouring State, as a volunteer in a revolutionary contest with which he had nothing to do, and as the advocate of doctrines that sap the very foundations of government and social order, which the best and most honorable portion of his life had been devoted to sustaining and building up. It is true, that, when Governor Morton addressed his published letter to the "clambake gathering" at Medbury Grove, the civil war in Rhode Island was ended. But this only makes the matter worse. The principles of the persons whom he addressed were then manifest, for they had been fully illustrated by their actions. They had joined in the attack on the arsenal at Providence, they had shouldered arms in the insurgent camp at Chepachet; and, in both instances, they had been defeated by the established authorities of the State, supported by the great body of the peaceable and well informed inhabitants, and acting under the direct sanction of the legal tri-

bunals and of the President of the United States. No matter how undecided the language, no matter how cautious or ambiguous was the expression of opinion, in a letter addressed to such an assembly, convened with such ends in view ; for it cannot be denied, that the purpose of this "gathering" was to keep up the excitement and the spirit of revolt against the established government of Rhode Island. To notice such an assembly at all, except in the way of indignant censure, was to praise it ; to sanction any of its principles, under such circumstances, was to adopt the whole. Governor Morton now enjoys the bad eminence of being, so far as we know, the only person in the United States, that has ever held high judicial office, who has in any way lent the sanction of his name to the proceedings of the insurgent party of Rhode Island. We freely admit, — though the fact hardly palliates at all the conduct or the motives of the writer, — that the language of this letter is temperate, and the principles defended in it generally sound, though perverted and sophistical in their application.

We cannot say as much for another pamphlet in favor of the Suffrage party, the title of which is quoted at the head of this article. We think "the Boston bar" has good ground of action for libel against the person who publishes such a performance, while claiming to be "a member of" that very respectable body. Its character may be inferred from the contemptible fling on the title-page at Dr. Wayland, who is there styled, by implication, with about as much wit as good manners, a "doctor of despotism." It is a paltry production, written with a very pert and self-satisfied air, abounding in flippant assumptions, but indicating a total incapacity, either of comprehending the questions at issue, or of advancing a single argument having a direct and cogent bearing upon them. In compassion to the writer, it may be thrown back, without further notice, into the anonymous kennel where it belongs.

We have not left ourselves much space for an argument on the Rhode Island question. In truth, hardly any argument is needed ; for it is difficult to put the question into any form, so that the mere statement of it shall not involve an entire refutation of the doctrines of the Suffrage party. Fortunately, there is no room for controversy about the manner of statement, or the meaning of the words in which it is con-

veyed ; for the practice of the party has furnished a full and intelligible commentary upon their doctrines. Their theory of government is written out, not merely in words, but in deeds, so that he who runs may read it. We have told the story, and there is, consequently, no difficulty in getting at the point in dispute. The question is, whether any number of persons may, at any time, come together, and without observing any of the forms of law, declare that they are "the people," or a majority of the people, and, as such, proceed to destroy the whole fabric of the existing government, and in its place create laws and establish a constitution, which shall be binding on the whole population of the State ? Are they entitled to assume, that they are 14,000 in number, and, without furnishing any evidence even of this fact, go on at once to form a government which shall be obligatory on 108,000 souls ? We say, "without furnishing any evidence even of this fact," for the actual returns have never been seen or summed up except by some half a dozen members of the Suffrage association or convention, nor have they been attested on oath, nor verified in any way. Who authorized fourteen individuals to act for the hundred and eight, of whom they were a part, and to make laws which should be binding on the whole, not only without the expressed consent of their fellows, but in spite of their earnest and repeated protest ? It is impossible to answer this question, except by admitting the fundamental fact, which lies at the origin, not only of all government, but of all society, — that *the state*, or, in other words, *the people*, under any circumstances, even at a revolutionary period, is a kind of corporation, an organized body politic, a unit, acting only through established forms, by its legally appointed agents. Of course, this admission would be fatal to all the pretensions of the Suffrage party.

The constitution of Massachusetts was ratified and made binding upon posterity, because it was approved, says Mr. J. Q. Adams, "by more than two thirds of about 15,000 persons who voted upon it, out of a population of 350,000, or one vote for every thirty-five souls." But who doubts the *popular* origin and character of our government ? These 15,000 persons, having complied with all legal requisitions, and acting upon a subject on which they were specially empowered at the time to act, passed a fundamental law, which

will be binding on them and their posterity for all future time, or until it shall be repealed in as formal a manner as it was enacted. Who pretends, that fifteen, or even twenty, thousand persons, of any class or character, might now come together, at their own instance only, without being specially delegated or authorized for such a purpose, and at once put a statute of their own formation in the place of this law? Even if a vast majority of the whole population of the State should become discontented with the constitution and desire to change it, they could not effect their purpose except by compliance with the established forms, — by manifesting their wishes in the appointed way, and waiting the appointed time (which, in this case, is at least two years), for their wishes to be carried into effect.

It is true, that our institutions repeatedly recognize the right of the majority to rule. But *what* majority? And how far, or how absolutely, can they rule? Only the majority in formally constituted bodies, recognized and appointed by the fundamental laws of the State, and acting within prescribed bounds upon regularly defined matters committed to their charge by these laws. Thus, the constitution permits a majority of the legislature to make laws, though only upon specified subjects, and within specified limits. But a number of men cannot band themselves together, forcibly unite themselves to the legally appointed legislators, and then, because they constitute a majority of the whole united body, pass such laws as they see fit. Such majorities are only unauthorized mobs, and so far as they usurp the functions of legislation or government, all persons participating in their acts are liable to the penalties of treason. The case is precisely similar with the constituted body of electors, who are authorized or deputed, so to speak, to represent the whole body politic, to act for it and to bind it by their acts, though they never form more than a fifth part of the whole number of individuals who are thus bound. They are empowered to elect the members of the legislature and the officers of the executive department, and this right of election is their sole and peculiar prerogative. A number of minors, paupers, convicts, individuals not paying taxes, or persons otherwise disqualified by the constitution, may not come together to usurp the privileges and functions of these electors, and because they constitute the major part of the aggregate

thus irregularly formed, proceed to exercise all the powers of the primitive body, and to make their acts obligatory upon the whole State. To do this is not only to violate the particular constitution established in that State, but to pull down the whole fabric of society and government. If they attempt it, their acts are not binding upon a single person, out of their own number, in the whole community. Members of the reputed minority, — nay, even women and children, — would at once have a perfect right to refuse obedience. Yet this is precisely the Rhode Island case, and these are the pretensions of the Suffrage party.

Again, it is not true, either in the theory or the practice of our institutions, that the majority, even in legally constituted bodies, can rule *in all cases*, this very power of forming new constitutions, or amending old ones, being one of the admitted exceptions. Thus, the constitution of the United States cannot be amended or repealed by the will of a mere majority. A concurrence of two thirds in both houses of Congress, or of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, is necessary before an amendment can even be proposed ; and then it must be ratified by not less than three fourths of the States, before it becomes a part of the instrument. Owing to the inequality in size and population of the several States, the disproportion between the majority and minority, in certain cases, must be very great, before an amendment can be adopted. We find, from a calculation founded on the last census, that in a case affecting the interests of the smaller States, so that they would be united in opposition to the measure, an amendment of the constitution might be defeated by less than one twelfth part of the whole population of the country. In other words, if eleven twelfths of the people of the United States should attempt to alter the constitution, they could rightfully be defeated by the remaining twelfth ; or if they attempted to carry through the measure with a high hand, after the manner of Dorr and his associates, Rhode Island herself would be the first to protest against the act, as a gross usurpation of the powers of government, and a violation of compact. And what inequality in the elective franchise or the ratio of representation had the Suffrage party to complain of, as great as that which now exists in the Senate of the United States, in which Rhode Island, with a population of less than a hundred and nine thousand, has as

many members as New York, with her two and a half millions of inhabitants ! The disproportion in this case is nearly as one to twenty-five, and a majority of twelve to one would have no right to restore the equality.

Is it said, that the constitution of the United States offers a peculiar case, being instituted for a limited purpose by special compact, and not designed to cover the whole ground, or to answer all the ends, of an entire frame of government ? Let us look, then, at the constitutions of the individual States, and find how far they can be moulded at will by a mere majority of the people. It is almost superfluous to say, at the outset, that in no one instance is a power over the instrument accorded to any other persons than the qualified voters, whom it points out and describes. While all admit, either expressly or by obvious implication, the right of "the people" to change their forms of government, they proceed immediately to prescribe the manner and the time of effecting any change, the class of individuals by whom alone it can be accomplished, what proportion of this favored number, who alone are recognized as "the people," must concur in the desire for an alteration, and under what conditions only it can be effected. In no case, can a change be made with the same facility with which new officers are appointed at the annual elections ; that is, by the vote of a mere majority, taking immediate effect. Always some delay, giving time for more experience and more mature consideration, or a vote much greater than that of a mere majority, affording clearer evidence that the change is generally desired, is necessary, before the fundamental law of the State can be modified in the slightest degree.

We have no room even for the briefest abstract of the provisions of all the State constitutions on this important point. We can give only a few instances to show how distinctly the supposed absolute power of the majority in this respect is denied, or with what important restrictions it is hampered. In Maine, two thirds of both houses of the legislature must deem an alteration necessary, before the people can act upon the constitution at all ; and then a majority of the qualified voters must sanction this decided expression of opinion on the part of the legislature, before the change can be effected. In Massachusetts, a change must first be desired by a majority of the Senators and by two

thirds of the Representatives ; the proposed amendment must then lie over for a year, and be approved by an equally preponderating vote of the next legislature ; then it may be submitted to the qualified voters, and if ratified by a majority of their voices, it goes into effect. In Connecticut, a majority of the representatives may propose an amendment, which must be referred to the next General Assembly, and there be approved by two thirds of each house ; it may then be laid before the people, and become a part of the constitution, if sanctioned by a majority of the ordinary voters. In New York, the provision is the same as in Connecticut, except that a majority of both houses, instead of the representatives only, must be in favor of it, before the amendment can be first proposed. In South Carolina, the people have no power to act directly upon the constitution ; an amendment must be agreed to by two thirds of both branches of the legislature, be then referred to the succeeding year, and, if again approved by a like vote of two thirds, it goes into effect. In Ohio, if two thirds of the General Assembly think it necessary to alter the constitution, they may require the voters at the next general election to declare whether they are desirous of holding a convention for this purpose ; if a majority of the voters are in favor of it, the next General Assembly may call a convention, by which alterations can be made.

It is useless to go further. The instances here given are taken at random, and are enough to show what is the general tenor of the State constitutions in this important respect. In all, the doctrine that a mere majority of the people may alter the constitution at any time, as they see fit, is emphatically rejected. In all, the previous action of the legislature is needed — usually a greatly preponderating vote in both branches — and in most cases, much delay is necessary, however pressing may be the emergency, or however general the desire for a change. Contrast these wise provisions with the theory and practice of the Suffrage party in Rhode Island, where a mere assemblage of individuals, who were not even qualified voters, and who acted not only without the consent of the legislature, but in spite of the direct refusal of that body to have any part in the matter, so that it even disavowed and prohibited all their proceedings, undertook of their own authority to throw down the government that had

been established for nearly two hundred years, and to put another of their own formation in its place. Will it be believed, that the defenders of such proceedings cite from the State constitutions, and the writers on constitutional law, repeated declarations, that "the people" have a right to make and alter their own forms of government, without saying a word of the explanation that immediately follows, which shows who are understood to be "the people," and what forms, what organs, and what majorities are necessary to enable them to exercise this right? They fasten on the abstract expression of a right, without uttering a syllable about the manner in which the use of this privilege is immediately defined and limited.

Is it said, that the charter did not authorize the legislature to make, from time to time, such changes in the form of government as might appear expedient? We answer by a prompt denial of the fact. Among the powers expressly granted to the General Assembly by this instrument is the following: "to make, ordain, constitute, or repeal such laws, statutes, orders, and ordinances, forms, and ceremonies of government and magistracy, as to them shall seem meet for the good and welfare of the said company." Power more unlimited, or language more comprehensive, could hardly be devised. Besides, as we have seen, the power to determine or alter the elective franchise was confessedly in the hands of the legislature alone, and was repeatedly exercised by them, so that this body, by a simple enactment, without touching the fundamental law of the State, might, at any time, have redressed almost the only grievance of which the Suffrage party complained. This party, therefore, by their violent proceedings, not only usurped the functions of the founders of a new State, but actually assumed the exclusive prerogatives and duties of their own legislators for the time being.

Is it said, that the limitations on the right of suffrage in Rhode Island were anti-republican, and at variance with the genius of our institutions? We might answer, that this is a disputed point, and that to determine it was exclusively the province of the legislature. But we are willing to go further, and to show that universal suffrage does not now exist, and never has existed, in any State of this union; that there are greater or less restrictions of the elective franchise

in them all ; that the qualifications of a voter in Rhode Island were not much higher than in several other States ; and that it is absurd to attempt to found a distinction in principle upon a mere difference in degree. Again, we have neither time nor space for an analysis of all the State constitutions ; but we find in Mr. Hazard's " Report," made in 1829, a brief summary of their provisions in this respect, which was probably correct at the time the Report was made, and which is quite enough to establish all that is here advanced.

"Of the twenty-four States already embraced in the Union, Virginia and Rhode Island require a freehold qualification for voters. Connecticut requires a freehold of seven pounds yearly value, or the payment of taxes, or one year's service in the militia, (unless excused,) and that the voters *shall have gained a settlement in the State* ; and, turning to the laws of that State to ascertain what the applicant has to do to gain a *settlement*, we find, that if he comes from a *sister* State, he must reside at least one year in the town in Connecticut where he is to gain his settlement, and must be possessed, in his own right, in fee, of real estate in that State of the value of three hundred and thirty-four dollars, free of incumbrance, the deed of which shall have been one year on record ; and without such substantial recommendation, he gains no settlement, unless especially favored by the authority of the town. Maryland requires a freehold of fifty acres, or property to the amount of thirty pounds. North Carolina requires a freehold of fifty acres to vote for senators ; the payment of taxes to vote for county members ; and a freehold to vote for town representatives. South Carolina, a freehold of fifty acres, or payment of taxes. Tennessee, a freehold in the county where the vote is given, unless the voter is resident there. New Jersey requires fifty pounds *proclamation* money, clear estate. New York requires that the voter shall pay taxes, (unless exempted,) or serve in the militia, (unless excused,) or be assessed to labor on the highway ; in which case, he must be three years an inhabitant of the State, and one year of the town or county where he votes. Mississippi requires payment of taxes or enrolment in the militia. Seven other States, namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, Georgia, and Louisiana, require only the payment of taxes as evidence of property. The remaining seven, namely, Maine, Vermont, Kentucky, Illinois, Alabama, Indiana, and Missouri require no property qualification, nor any equivalent or substitute. The constitutions of all the States, except three, *expressly* exclude females. In two of those three, they are excluded by

construction; and, in the other (New Jersey), where females formerly voted, in high party times, they are now excluded by *act of the legislature, amending the constitution*. Thirteen of the States expressly exclude all people of color. The other eleven, namely, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, admit, or do not expressly exclude them. But one of these, (New York,) makes a marked distinction between her white and her colored voters; — requiring of the latter freehold estates, for which they pay taxes of two hundred and fifty pounds value, and three years' instead of one year's residence. One State excludes paupers; another, paupers and persons under guardianship; a third adds Indians not taxed to these exclusions. Connecticut requires the qualification of a good moral character; and Vermont requires peaceable and quiet behaviour, and an oath. Pennsylvania and Delaware allow the sons of voters to vote for one year after coming of age. Every State requires a residence of a shorter or longer time, from three months up to three years. Every State excludes all under twenty-one years of age. Five of them only require citizenship of the United States." — pp. 18, 19.

"But the feature in the constitutions we have been speaking of, least in harmony with the doctrine of universal right of suffrage, (which, in other respects, is carried to such extremes in those instruments,) is the striking difference they make in the qualifications of the electors, and of those whom they are allowed to elect. In none of those States (except Connecticut) can a single one of the electors, who is barely qualified to act as such, be himself elected a representative, much less a senator. In most of those States, a senator or representative (with some difference as to amount) must possess a clear freehold estate of very considerable extent, — from one hundred to five hundred acres; and, of value, from one hundred pounds to one thousand dollars. In one State, the freehold must be worth five hundred pounds sterling; and, in another, a thousand pounds sterling, clear of debt. And where real and personal property together make the qualification, the amount required is still much greater. In one State, in addition to a freehold of five hundred acres, the candidate must *own ten negroes*. The term of residence, also, must be much longer than is required for voters, namely, from one to seven years; and the candidates must be of more mature age, namely, from twenty-two up to thirty-five years, in different States." — pp. 21, 22.

The truth is, that in the United States, and in every

other country on earth, wherein the right of the people to manage their own affairs and govern themselves is asserted and exercised, "the people" is understood to be a specific and peculiar phrase, not comprehending "all persons," but assuming by prescription to represent all. Otherwise, it would be impossible for the machinery of a government to exist. *Non omnia possumus omnes*. We cannot all be governors, legislators, and voters at the same time. There must be delegations, and organized bodies, and deputed trusts, and virtual representations; or the wheels of government must stop short, and men must go back to a state of nature, to reside in caverns and forests, in the condition described in the expressive language of Hobbes; "no arts, no letters, no society, and, which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death, and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." The most perfect democracy that now exists, or of which there is any record in history, is that of a town meeting in a New England country village. But even there, are moderators, and rules of proceeding, and qualified voters, and business confined to the matters mentioned in the warrant. So it must ever be. The very idea of a government is that of something which is stable, that proceeds by fixed rules, and in which one person represents many, and binds them by his acts. Not even the sovereign power in a state, which has any pretensions to freedom, can modify or abolish it at his own pleasure. "It is contrary to reason," said the citizens of Boston, in May, 1764, to their representatives in the General Court, instructing them to remonstrate against some of the offensive Acts of Trade, "it is contrary to reason, that the supreme power should have right to alter the constitution." If it could be so, it would be a despotism instead of a free government, no matter whether the despotic power were lodged in the hands of a king or a mob, a Louis the Fourteenth or a Jacobin club at Paris.

Name and define our form of polity as you please; call it a republic, a democracy, or any thing else; *it is still a government*. It must embrace, then, those elements of permanency and stability, which mark the distinction between organized society and the natural state of man, because they enable men to see what they are to expect, and to regulate their conduct for the future by some fixed rules, without de-

pending on the caprice of individuals, or the whim of a moment. It must not be changed without grave deliberation, much delay, and the consentaneous operation of all the parts. Allow the principles of the Suffrage party to prevail, and the constitution of no State in the union is safe. A body of individuals may at any time come together, declare that they are "the people," pull down the whole structure of the government, and put one of their own fashioning in its place. The question is, therefore, whether we really have a permanent habitation, or are only tenants at will of a crazy building, of which the walls may crumble, and the roof topple down on our heads at any moment.

In this connexion, some of the weighty and magnificent sentences of Burke, in which the depth of thought and solemnity of sentiment are equalled only by the splendor of the diction, are so appropriate, that we cannot withstand the temptation to lay them before our readers.

"Society is indeed a contract. Subordinate contracts for objects of more occasional interest may be deposited at pleasure. But the state ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some such other low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked on with other reverence; because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence, of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born. Each contract of each particular state is but a clause in the great primeval contract of eternal society, linking the lower with the higher natures, connecting the visible and invisible world, according to a fixed compact, sanctioned by the inviolable oath, which holds all physical and all moral natures, each in their appointed place. This law is not subject to the will of those, who, by an obligation above them and infinitely superior, are bound to submit their will to that law. The municipal corporations of that universal kingdom are not morally at liberty, at their pleasure, and on their speculations of a contingent improvement, wholly to separate and tear asunder the bands of their subordinate community, and to dissolve it into an unsocial,

uncivil, unconnected chaos of elementary principles. It is the first and supreme necessity only, a necessity that is not chosen but chooses, a necessity paramount to deliberation, that admits no discussion, and demands no evidence, which alone can justify a resort to anarchy. This necessity is no exception to the rule; because this necessity itself is a part, too, of that moral and physical disposition of things, to which man must be obedient by consent or force. But if that, which is only submission to necessity, should be made the object of choice, the law is broken, nature is disobeyed, and the rebellious are outlawed, cast forth, and exiled from this world of reason, and order, and peace, and virtue, and fruitful penitence, into the antagonist world of madness, discord, vice, confusion, and unavailing sorrow.”*

To justify the proceedings of Dorr and his associates, it is necessary to go the extravagant length of affirming, that when they commenced their operations, no legal government existed in Rhode Island, that their fundamental laws went into effect in default of any competition, and that they merely established a new society, instead of breaking up an old one. The absurdity of this statement appears from the brief sketch that we have given of the history of the charter. We have shown, that the founders of Rhode Island formed themselves into a body politic, and declared that their form of government was a democracy, or rule of the people; that they subsequently obtained from the king, at their own solicitation, a charter confirming them in the exercise of these rights, and permitting them to choose all their own officers, and make all their own laws; that this charter, though sanctioned by the monarch, derived its whole binding force within the colony from the voluntary acceptance and ratification of it by the people; that it was acknowledged and hated by the royal governors and the other partisans of prerogative, during the whole Colonial period, as establishing a confessed republic or democracy; that it continued in force, because, having once been established by the people, the people never abrogated it; that under its provisions, and acting through the legal authorities constituted by it, the State became a party to the American Revolution, entered the Confederacy of 1778, and accepted the Federal Constitution of 1787; and that it continued after the Revolution in undisputed

* *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

force, and subject to no complaint or doubt, for at least forty years. We question whether there was ever a government on the face of the earth, which had a better claim to be considered as existing "by the grace of God" and by the will of the people.

The rightful authority of this system is further strengthened by the consideration, that the government of Connecticut, down to the year 1818, stood on precisely similar foundations, and its legal power was never impugned. In confirmation of our own argument on this point, we make a short extract from Judge Swift's admirable digest of the laws of Connecticut. The remarks are so apposite, that they may be applied to the Rhode Island case without the alteration of a word; and as the book was published in 1795, its author must be regarded as an independent and impartial witness.

"It is unquestionably true, that in consequence of the dissolution of the political connexion with Great Britain, the people of this State had a right, if they had thought proper to have exerted it, to have met in convention, and established a different form of government. But at the declaration of independence, the subject was considered in a different light. The authority of the government was supposed to have originated from the assent of the people, and never to have been dependent on the royal charter. During the whole period of the existence of the Colonial government, Connecticut was considered, as having only paid a nominal allegiance to the British crown, for the purpose of receiving protection and defence, as a part of the British empire; but always exercised legislation respecting all the internal concerns of the community, to the exclusion of all authority and control from the king and parliament, as much as an independent State. Acts of parliament were not deemed binding here, and the assent of the king and parliament was not necessary to give efficacy to our statutes. The necessary consequence was, that the renunciation of allegiance to the British crown, and the withdrawing from the British empire, did not in any degree affect, or alter, the constitution of the government. The constitution which originated from the people, and had been practised upon, continued in operation, after the declaration of independence, in the same manner as before, and was equally valid. The people were only discharged from a nominal allegiance to the British crown, which they had recognized for the purpose of protection and defence. These being

withdrawn by Great Britain, and war made upon them, they had a right to enter into a confederacy with any other States for the purpose of mutual defence; but their internal government remained unaltered and the same." — pp. 57, 58.

As the American Revolution did not impair the authority of the charter or the government established under it, so neither was there any thing in the conduct or the principles of the men at that period, which gives any sanction to the proceedings of the Suffrage party. We have already shown, that this great event was the most orderly revolution, that the world has ever witnessed. It was not a mere revolt, conducted by disorderly assemblages of men, suddenly throwing off a yoke which they had patiently borne for many years, and fanatically combating in defence of abstract principles to the value and importance of which their own eyes were but just opened. It was not a Quixotic crusade in favor of human rights in general, nor a war undertaken only to show that all men were free and equal, and had a right to govern themselves as they saw fit. It was rather the grave and deliberate act of a great country, that had grown up, in less than two centuries, as a dependency of England, and had gloried in this connexion with the land of its fathers, and in the privileges which inured to its people in their character as British subjects, till the aggressions of the crown and the oppressive conduct of the administration made it necessary to sever the tie, and to strike boldly in defence of these privileges, and of the more general rights of humanity, to which they were at last compelled, though reluctantly, to make appeal. They fought through the whole earlier part of the struggle, not for the acquisition of new privileges, but for the preservation of old ones; not for the abstract doctrine of the equality of the human race, but for the maintenance of their charters, and of the right, which they had inherited from their fathers, of being taxed only by their own representatives. It is true, they were driven, at last, by "a long train of *abuses and usurpations*," to throw off their dependency on the British crown, "and to provide new guards for their future security." But it was a grave and awful necessity, like that of sundering the tie between parent and child. Even then, they did nothing in hatred, haste, or malice. They say, in language which is rather pathetic than denunciatory or triumphant, "we must, therefore, ac-

quiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation ” ; and they declare, “ that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.” And this was the grand result of the Revolution, — to dissolve “ *all political connexion* ” with England, and not to proclaim a new gospel of human rights ; to fall back on their primitive institutions, and not to destroy them and to put new ones in their place ; to strike out one principle of American law, and not to abrogate the whole code.

Is this a novel and merely speculative view of the great contest of 1776 ? Look, then, at the conduct, the speeches and the writings of the earlier patriots, the proper “ fathers of the Revolution,” — of such men as James Otis, John Dickinson, and Dr. Franklin. They all boasted of the connexion of the country with England, and gloried in the title of British subjects ; they were strongly attached to the land which they still called their “ home ” ; they acknowledged the duty of allegiance to the crown, and spoke with the gloomiest apprehensions of measures for a separation, that might be forced upon them, if the ministry persisted in their schemes. The General Court of Massachusetts, in a memorial against the “ Sugar Act,” which they transmitted to their agent in England in the summer of 1764, declared, that “ the connexion between Great Britain and her Colonies is so natural and strong, as to make their mutual happiness depend upon their mutual support. Nothing can tend more to the destruction of both, and to forward the measures of their enemies, than sowing the seeds of jealousy, animosity, and dissention between the mother country and the Colonies.” James Otis, in his “ Rights of the British Colonies,” published the same year, when he was the avowed leader of the patriotic party in Massachusetts, writes thus : “ We all think ourselves happy under Great Britain. We love, esteem, and reverence our mother country, and adore our king. And could the choice of independency be offered the Colonies, or subjection to Great Britain upon any terms above absolute slavery, I am convinced they would accept the latter.” As late as July, 1774, John Dickinson, “ the Pennsylvania Farmer,” wrote the “ instructions ” presented by the deputies of several counties in Pennsylvania to their representatives in the General Assembly, from which we make the following extract.

"We well know, that the Colonists are charged by many persons in Great Britain, with attempting to obtain such an exclusion [of *any* power of parliament over these Colonies] and a total independence on her. As well we know the accusation to be utterly false. We can safely appeal to that Being, from whom no thought can be concealed, that our warmest wish and utmost ambition is, that we and our posterity may ever remain subordinate to and dependent upon our parent state. This submission our reason approves, our affection dictates, our duty commands, and our interest enforces."

Washington, as late as October, 1774, writes to a friend in Boston as follows :

"I was involuntarily led into a short discussion of this subject by your remarks on the conduct of the Boston people, and your opinion of their wishes to set up for independency. I am well satisfied, that no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America ; on the contrary, that it is the ardent wish of the warmest advocates for liberty, that peace and tranquillity, upon constitutional grounds, may be restored, and the horrors of civil discord prevented."

In a long note upon this passage, Mr. Sparks brings together an array of citations and authorities upon this point, which are perfectly decisive.* We can find room only for a few brief extracts. John Jay says :

"During the course of my life, and until after the second petition of Congress, in 1775, I never did hear an American of any class, or of any description, express a wish for the independence of the Colonies. It has always been, and still is, my opinion and belief, that our country was prompted and impelled to independence by necessity, and not by choice."

"That there existed a general desire of independence of the crown, in any part of America, before the revolution, is as far from the truth, as the zenith from the nadir. For my own part, there was not a moment during the revolution, when I would not have given every thing I possessed for a restoration to the state of things before the contest began, provided we could have had a sufficient security for its continuance."

And Mr. Jefferson affirmed,

"What, eastward of New York, might have been the dispositions towards England before the commencement of hostilities, I know not; before that, I never heard a whisper of a

* *Washington's Works*, II. p. 496.

disposition to separate from Great Britain; and after that, its possibility was contemplated with affliction by all."

Similar opinions, expressed in language quite as strong, are found throughout Franklin's correspondence for eight or nine years after the date of the Stamp Act. Even the old Congress, in the autumn of 1774, in an address to the people of Great Britain, use the following language. "You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured, that these are not facts but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness." And in their address to the king, they say: "We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. Your royal authority over us, and our connexion with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain."

It is useless to multiply these citations. Enough has been given to support our view of the sentiments and doctrines maintained by the patriots of this country at the beginning of the war with England, and to show that there is nothing in them which harmonizes with the disorganizing and anarchical theory and practice of the Suffrage party in Rhode Island. Even the abstract assertion of the natural rights of man, with which the Declaration of Independence opens, if viewed in light cast upon it by the writings and the actions of its signers, must not be taken in its broad and literal meaning, as then actually reduced to practice; but as put forward only to justify the single step of a separation from England. Accordingly they say, that "*whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends*, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it"; but they go on immediately to qualify this assertion by the remark, that "prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established ought not to be changed for light and transient causes."

It is more directly connected with our present purpose to remark, that the revolution of 1776 was directed entirely by duly organized assemblies and associations, legally constituted, representing bodies politic. The authority on which they acted was not derived merely from casual and tumultuous assemblages of the people, into which any person might enter, and where every man had a voice. It was drawn, in

most cases, from long established legislative assemblies, existing according to law ; and when circumstances prevented such assemblies from coming together, conventions were organized in their place, closely resembling them in every particular. Such conventions were never held to displace the regular legislatures, to usurp their functions, or to dispute their authority.

Our limits will not permit us to illustrate and support this proposition at length. We can only call attention to a few facts and authorities, which are still enough to leave no doubt upon the subject. The inhabitants of Boston, who played the chief part in the opening scenes of the Revolution, acted only in legal town meetings, duly called by the selectmen, and properly organized. An irregular convention of deputies from the towns in Massachusetts was held at Boston in 1768 ; but it was called only on account of the refusal of the governor to convene the General Court ; and it sat but a few days, and did but little business, for the confidence of the people was not with it. The members expressly disclaimed "any pretence to authoritative, or governmental acts," and soon gladly resigned their task of defending the people's rights into the hands of the people's legal representatives. The delegates to the first Continental Congress were chosen, sometimes by the regular Assemblies, sometimes by a convention of committees appointed by the people for this purpose, and, in a few instances, by the committees themselves. "It is not likely," says Mr. Sparks, "that in a single elective body on the continent, there was an instance of a member's taking his seat, without exhibiting a well authenticated certificate, that he was duly chosen."* The credentials of the members are printed in full in the journals of the old Congress, and it appears, that they were examined before the individuals were allowed to take their seats. We find there the certificate of the governor of Rhode Island, given under the Colonial seal, certifying that Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward had been duly nominated and appointed delegates by the General Assembly of the Colony. Similar certificates, though without the signature of the governor, were presented by the members from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and South

* Sparks's *Life of Morris*, I. p. 32.

Carolina. Mr. Jefferson himself, the author of the "Declaration," took his seat under credentials duly approved by the General Assembly of Virginia. The members from the city and county of New York produced certificates, that they had been chosen "by duly certified polls." Other counties in New York sent delegates, and in two of them, at least, Orange and Westchester, it seems that only "*free-holders*" voted, after the manner of the old elections. And it was undoubtedly the general rule throughout the country, that in choosing members of conventions, provincial congresses, or committees for appointing delegates to the Continental Congress, only those were allowed to act who were regularly qualified to vote according to the standing laws or practice of each Colony. Exceptions there may have been in some cases, under very pressing emergencies, when business was transacted in great haste, or under great excitement; but the general rule was unquestionably as we have stated.

We will not weary the patience of our readers by adducing further evidence to show, that the spirit of the American Revolution is directly opposed to the pretensions and the conduct of the insurgent party in Rhode Island. We feel as if it were an insult to the memory of the patriots who achieved our independence, to pursue the comparison that we have here instituted. It is necessary to go to the history of other countries, or to some later and more mournful passages in our own annals, to find a fit parallel to the proceedings of the Suffrage party. We find one in the disgraceful and terrific scenes of the earlier part of the French Revolution, when all France groaned under the tyranny of the mob of Paris and its environs, when constitutions were made, sworn to, and abrogated, as if they were the playthings of an hour, and when the pernicious doctrines of Jacobinism were first preached to the world, and enforced by the pike, the bayonet, and the guillotine. Illegal assemblies usurped the character and office of duly appointed legislatures. Unauthorized clubs overawed the government, and the reign of terror superseded that of order and law. The theory, that any collection of individuals may assume the name of "the people," may pursue their ends by means of intimidation and force, and mould the constitution of the state to their own will, was there carried out and illustrated in a way equally shocking to reason and humanity.

Since the separation of this country from England, there have been three formidable revolts against the authority of the established government, each of which caused great terror and excitement at the time, but was finally subdued by a large military force, with little bloodshed, and a signal display of clemency towards the vanquished. The first was the Shays rebellion in Massachusetts, in 1786 ; the second was the "whiskey insurrection," in 1794, in the western part of Pennsylvania ; and the third was the rebellion that we have now been considering. Of these three, the last was far the most flagitious, as it was unprovoked by any practical grievance, and not palliated by any distress in the circumstances of the insurgent population. It was a causeless revolt, not incited by the weight of heavy taxation, not growing out of commercial distress, nor nurtured by the destitution and misery of the disaffected classes. In every respect but this, the rebellion first mentioned affords a remarkable parallel to it. The closest resemblance exists between the two, in regard to the character and numbers of the rebels, the doctrines that they advanced, and the means by which they were suppressed.

The disturbances in Massachusetts grew out of the sick and exhausted condition of the whole country at the close of the Revolutionary war. Public and private debts existed to an enormous amount, agriculture and commerce stagnated, taxation was heavy, and distress was universal. At this time, Shays and his associates undertook to shut up the courts by violence, and to intimidate the government into the adoption of their unjust and arbitrary measures. It is certain, that their party had the majority in several counties ; it is quite probable, that they had the majority in the whole State ; for their great object was to postpone the decision of the whole matter till a new legislature should be chosen, when they were confident of obtaining the command of both branches. They held unlicensed conventions, in which more than fifty towns were represented, "voted their own constitutionality," assumed the name of the people, demanded a revision of the constitution, arrayed themselves against the legislature, and demanded the redress of grievances with arms in their hands. Job Shattuck, one of their leaders, at the head of an armed force, took possession of the court-house at Worcester, and sent a written message to

the judges, "that it was the sense of the people, that the courts should not sit." "They thought themselves," says Minot, the historian of the insurrection, "they thought themselves to be a majority of the people, as some pretended, and so vested with a supreme power of altering whatever appeared to them to be wrong in the polity of the country." Washington was asked to use his great personal influence to stay the mad proceedings of the rebels. He replied :

"You talk, my good Sir, of employing *influence* to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found ; nor, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for these disorders. Influence is not government. Let us have a government, by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once."

"Let the reins of government then be braced," he continued, "and held with a steady hand ; and every violation of the constitution be reprehended. If defective, let it be amended ; *but not suffered to be trampled upon while it has existencè.*"

Mr. Madison, also, in a number of the "Federalist," alluding to this very rebellion, says :

"At first view, it might not seem to square with the republican theory, to suppose either that a majority have not the right, or that a minority will have the force, to subvert a government ; and, consequently, that the federal interposition can never be required, but when it would be improper. But theoretic reasoning in this, as in most cases, must be qualified by the lessons of practice. *Why may not illicit combinations for purposes of violence be formed as well by a majority of a State, especially of a small State, as by a majority of a county, or a district of the same State ; and if the authority of the State ought, in the latter case, to protect the local magistracy, ought not the federal authority, in the former, to support the State authority ?*"

At last, by great exertions on the part of the government and the well affected citizens, an army of four thousand men, under General Lincoln, was fitted out, and after a very severe campaign in the midst of winter, this dangerous insurrection was suppressed with but little loss of life.* Not one

* If our brethren in Rhode Island have had some cause to complain of the laxity and unfriendliness of the government of Massachusetts, in not affording them sufficient aid and countenance during the recent disturbances, we may refer them to the Shays rebellion, as showing the other side of the picture, and proving that they were not always very active in their

of the rebels suffered capital punishment, though many had richly deserved that fate.

We cannot dwell upon the history of the rebellion in Pennsylvania. There, too, a great majority of the people in the disaffected country were banded together in open opposition to the government and the laws. Their conduct was such, says Pitkin, "that no alternative was left, but either to surrender the government into the hands of the lawless and disobedient, or compel submission by military force." President Washington issued a proclamation, declaring "that the very existence of the government, and the fundamental principles of social order, are materially involved in the issue," and requiring the insurgents to disperse and retire to their homes. When this had no effect, by calling out the militia of the neighbouring States, he assembled a force of over twelve thousand men, and with its aid effectually quelled the insurrection. Mercy was again shown to the vanquished.

But what chiefly distinguishes the rebellion in Rhode Island both from the one in Massachusetts, and from that in Pennsylvania, and which aggravates the criminality of the former in the highest degree, is the fact, that redress of the only grievances, of which the disaffected party complained, was offered to them in the incipient stages of their revolt, *and was refused*. They were permitted to vote, in February, 1842, upon the "Landholders' Constitution," which would have established a government in every respect unexceptionable, and they rejected it. For the first time, per-

duties towards us. After the main body of the insurgents was defeated and dispersed, parties of them took refuge in the neighbouring States, and continued to keep up the alarm and excitement in the border towns, by returning to Massachusetts from time to time, and resuming their former measures. Governor Bowdoin applied to the executive authorities of these States to put an end to such irregular proceedings, and to apprehend and deliver up the refugees. In most instances, the application was successful, but not in all. The historian Minot shall tell the rest.

"But the authority of Rhode Island was far from taking steps to secure the fugitives from justice, who publicly resorted there. When a motion was made in their Assembly, upon the act of Massachusetts for apprehending the principals of the rebellion being read, that a law should be passed, requesting the Governor to issue a proclamation for apprehending them, if within that State, it was lost by a great majority; *and one of the very refugees was allowed a seat within their chamber.*" Minot's *History of the Insurrection*. p. 152.

"Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur."

haps, in the annals of the world, the people declared, that they would not have *reform*, and preferred *revolution*. They stood out upon a mere punctilio, saying that they would not accept the matter as a gift, but were determined to seize upon it by an armed force, as their own right. They acted as if it were a light thing to kindle the flames of civil war, to array members of the same family on opposite sides, and to destroy by violence the constituted authority of the State. No language is too strong to be applied to such nefarious and inhuman conduct. We justly shrink with horror from the man who has struck his parent. But what can be thought of him, who raises a parricidal hand against his country, the common parent of all, to whom every reasonable being owes the greatest measure of filial homage and obedience? Therefore has treason always been distinguished as the highest crime known to the law, and the traitor is singled out for the universal detestation of mankind.

These remarks do not tend in the slightest degree to disparage the motives or the conduct of the illustrious men who have been found, in all ages of the world, eager to withstand oppression, and to contend in the cause of freedom and of right, against an unjust and arbitrary government, though at the hazard of their lives, and of every thing which renders life desirable. Honor, everlasting honor, to their memories, whether they perished upon the scaffold, or lived to enjoy a nation's gratitude, and "read their triumph in a nation's eyes!" But "the sacred right of revolution," as it has been aptly termed, is not to be brought out of its shrine on any mean or ordinary occasion. It must not be used as a cloak for ambitious usurpation, for reckless love of change, or for treacherous revolt. A grave and fearful responsibility rests upon those who exercise it, and unless the cause be just, and the necessity of the case be urgent, not even a successful issue of the contest will relieve them, in the judgment of posterity, from the censure due to the traitor and the enemy of his native land. The patriot's fame depends as much on the caution and reluctance with which he unsettles the foundations of government, and opposes the established authorities of the state, as on the courage and perseverance which he manifests in the midst of the strife. He is answerable for all the misery and desolation that follow in the train of civil war; for the evil passions that are excited;

for the blood that is shed ; for the affections that are sundered ; for the quiet of many a peaceful family that is interrupted, and the happiness of many a fireside that is destroyed ; and great must be the interests at stake, noble must be the principles for which he contends, or he will find the burden of this responsibility too heavy to be borne. He will sink under it, amidst the execrations of those who owe to him the ruin of their prosperity, and the wreck of their dearest hopes.

Loyalty is not an unmeaning word in a republic. It is due to the free institutions by which we are surrounded, to the establishments created by the wisdom of our fathers, and transmitted as the noblest heritage to their children. To cherish this feeling is our best safeguard against anarchy and licentiousness, evils which, in a modern democracy, are to be feared at least as much as oppression and misrule. Patriotism was considered as the highest virtue in the Roman republic, and it has lost none of its value or significance in these our times. Its object, indeed, is not the ground on which we tread, nor the homes wherein we dwell, nor the individuals whom we call our countrymen, though with most of them we have no nearer connexion than if they lived on the other side of the boundary line. Its object is rather the body politic of which we are a part ; it is the state to which we owe allegiance ; it is the government, by whose acts we are bound. This obligation may quickly be broken, it is true ; the tie may easily be ruptured, for it is the nature of a popular government to rest lightly upon the community, and to be guarded only by the affections of those over whom it extends. But if the act be rashly or recklessly done, it will be the sure source of misery and strife, that can end only in the prostration of our liberties, by subjection to the yoke of another country, or to the hard rule of a military despot.

ART. VI. — *Rural Architecture : consisting of Classic Dwellings, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Gothic, and Details connected with each of the Orders ; embracing Plans, Elevations, &c.* Designed for the United States of America. By EDWARD SHAW, Architect. Boston : James B. Dow. 1843.

ARCHITECTURE is, beyond question, the oldest and most impressive of the fine arts. In several important points of view, it demands precedence over its more popular accessories, sculpture and painting. Without claiming for it a higher station than will be readily conceded by persons of taste, it may be observed, that these two arts are merely its subsidiary embellishments, and that, in some degree, it is the union and embodiment of both. It ought not, then, to be viewed as less interesting than either. Its various stages of progress furnish abundant opportunity for reflection, and a wide theme for profitable remark. It has been regarded as so direct a means of inspiring the imagination, and creating sublime ideas in the mind, as to be assigned, by ingenious writers, to a high place among those causes which affect the character of an age, and exert a prominent influence over the moral and intellectual habits of a people. It is not, then, from any want of untouched matter, or of fresh subjects for the use of the pen, that so little notice of its present condition among us, has lately appeared in this Journal. On the contrary, there is quite enough in the recent works of our builders to engage the attention of the *amateur*, and demand the animadversions of the critic. We will readily admit, indeed, that the maxim, *nil dictum quod non dictum prius*, should be carefully kept in view while speaking of this polite and liberal art. But this maxim, in architecture as in law, should be applied to general principles, and not to new circumstances, or to novel combinations of facts. Whenever these arise, it is certainly well to improve upon them. We would not attempt to advance new doctrines, or to advocate any startling novelties of opinion ; we would only bring some of those true principles again before the public, which were long since settled and acknowledged by high authority, but which seem in frequent danger, among us, of being overlooked, slighted, or forgotten. We enter upon

this course with the full conviction, that the pursuit of it has always proved beneficial to the art. For the common consent of cultivated minds has fully established this truth, that the system of the ancient architects does not admit of any wide departure from precedent and usage, and if its fundamental principles are in any degree contravened, the certain and speedy consequence will be the degradation and debasement of all its real beauties.

With pleasure, therefore, should we hail even the faint indication of a desire to study the spirit and meaning, instead of reproducing the mere forms and details, of the works of our predecessors. So long as this energy, this sensibility of taste, is wanting, there remains one, at least, of the highest marks of civilization, to which we can have no valid claim. The great test of excellence in design has been repeatedly declared to be this, — that there should be no parts about a building which are not necessary for *convenience, construction, and propriety*, while the neglect of this rule is undoubtedly the immediate cause of all the bad architecture of the present time. Mr. Jefferson is said to have remarked, in reference to the style of building which prevailed in his day, that “the genius of architecture seemed to have shed a peculiar malediction over America.” Little is it to be wondered at, that such should have been the honest conviction of an acute observer, and a man of tolerable taste, at a time when the weak puerilities of Latrobe and his rivals formed the most elevated standard of our architectural excellence. Those flaunting and meretricious edifices, the Capitol at Washington, and the State-house at Boston, stand forth to us as the highest efforts of their composition and invention, while all below them was left to the indiscriminate mercies of the house-joiner and the mason. But if this was the opinion of Mr. Jefferson forty years ago, it cannot be said that, at the present day, there is any reason to reverse the desponding verdict. The architectural faults and follies of his times have indeed passed away; but we do not hesitate to affirm, that they have been succeeded by others of a different and more deplorable kind. If baldness and want of fancy were the bane of that period, the ostentatious meanness and stilted pretension of our contemporaries are not a whit better. An expression of character and appropriateness might have been wanting in the works of the former builders; still it was, at least, aimed at

and attempted ; the church was erected in one style, the senate-house in another, the private mansion in another. But with us, such discrimination is rarely shown ; the elevation of the Parthenon, Erectheum, or the Ilissus is the Pro-custes bed, on which the relentless measure of all our public and private wants and uses is taken, and we are seldom allowed any alternative. Because a *façade* is beautiful in one situation, it is without hesitation adopted in all. A leaf cut out of Stuart's "Athens," that inexhaustible quarry of bad taste, supplies our *architect* with his design and his detail ; he duplicates the columns of the Choragic monument under the crowded portico of the suburban citizen's *box* ; and sacrifices, in every situation, all discrimination and all distinctive character to his imaginary Moloch of classical chasteness. We are almost tempted to suppose, that whenever he sits down to his drawing-board, an attendant stands close at his elbow, to whisper in his ear the dismal motto which, as Montaigne relates, was every day repeated by the pages of Darius ; "Sir, remember the Athenians." So effectually does he remember them, that he finds room in his memory for nothing else. Without columns, he cannot compose any thing ; and with them, he seems to think he cannot fail of being fine. Thus, market-house, cottage, bank, town-hall, law-school, church, brewery, and theatre, with him are all the same. It matters not how widely different their character, how exactly opposite their purpose. His blind admiration for the Grecian colonnade seems to obtrude the object of its bigotry into every situation where its inappropriateness becomes most evident and most ridiculous. Yet we grieve to record, that this servile manner of repetition has established itself in general practice, and finds plenty of advocates among those

"Who talk of principles, but nothing prize,
And all to one loved folly sacrifice."

Thus the hexastyle portico of Athens is, indeed, reproduced in every locality, and with every variety of material that ingenuity can devise ; but the *fitness of the design to the purpose* for which it is intended, if recognized at all in theory, is much oftener honored in the breach than the observance, in practice.

While, then, these objects of tasteless and ignorant imitation are looking us in the face at every turn, it is scarcely

possible for any one to believe, that our architects possess a particle of that first of all requisites — invention. Is there any proof of its existence among them, when we see the same idea repeated by all, — flimsily disguised, perhaps, but still the same, hashed up and set before us again and again ? It does not even appear, that they have often cultivated that lower excellence, which Reynolds allows the young painter sometimes to aim at, — the ability to borrow *with judgment* from the ideas of others, and to use them with grace and fancy. But how could any other result than this be expected ? Like those self-satisfied Platonists, who, instead of following out their great master in his search for all truth, are content to stop short exactly where Plato left them, — they seem to have proposed to themselves a definite mark in their art, a limited boundary, beyond which they do not care to go. They are satisfied to overlook the fundamental rules of their profession, because they can earn a cheap and vulgar distinction by disregarding them ; by reërecting the eternal temples of the tropics, in timber and plaster imitations on the bleak shores of New England.

“ On which the mazed people gaze and stare,
And gape therefore.” *Sir T. More.*

This is their loftiest flight of fancy, — the *ultima Thule* of their imagination. If ever varied, it is only to compose a new order which mocks at the grace of Pericles, — to invent a new arrangement of columns, that ingeniously destroys their propriety and perverts their use, or to place an idolatrous Egyptian gateway as an entrance to a place of Christian sepulture. In short, the locality, destination, and character of a structure appear to be the last considerations which find any place in the basis of their designs, while each new effort, each fresh proceeding, seems only to involve the arts in a deeper and more hopeless degradation.

Perhaps it will not be deemed sufficient to put forth this decided statement, without supporting it by a particular reference to individual examples. The bare assertions of the critic, when unsustained by tangible proof, will always pass for nothing. We heartily agree with Burnet in the determination “ to lay aside that lazy and fallacious method of censuring by the lump, and so bring things close to the test of true or false.” *Fraus latet in generalibus.* But we approach this necessary part of our task with reluctance, since the motives of it

are so open to misrepresentation, and so liable to mistake. It has always been the fate of those who set themselves to the reform of any crying abuse, to be rather censured for ill motives than applauded for good ones ; to encounter the apathy of indifference and the opposition of interest, when success would be without any personal advantage, and the result of their labors would prove of far less consequence to themselves, than to those who most strenuously take part against them. We cannot expect, in the present instance, to be exempted from the operation of the general rule. It will not be thought gratuitous, therefore, for us to assert, that we are actuated by no other feeling than a sincere desire to advance the cause of art, and to direct attention to the real merits of other and better days. Nor will it, we hope, be denied, that candor must always drive the impartial critic to a necessary degree of severity, and that in no other way, indeed, can we ever look for any serious reformation. The blunders of ignorance, and the more inexcusable absurdities of whim and caprice, should be plainly pointed out, that they may be ridiculed and avoided for the future. Let us, then, proceed to hold up the torch of truth to several of our costliest edifices, and examine them dispassionately by the light it affords. We will endeavour to keep close to Bishop Taylor's sensible rule, to "report things modestly and temperately, according to the degree of that persuasion which is, or ought to be, begotten by the efficacy of the authority, or the reason inducing thee." It cannot be supposed, that we shall here be unable to maintain the utmost frankness, unmixed either with fear or favor, when we declare, that in many cases we have never heard the architect mentioned at all, and that in none, do we know any thing more of him than barely the name.

The patronage of the general government has, of late, been sadly misapplied in Boston. We are free to go, at once, *in medias res*, and to confess, that the new Custom-house, now in progress of erection, is so incongruous and absurd a pile, that we scarcely know where to begin or where to end our enumeration of its deformities. To avoid the charge of unfairness, however, we will endeavour to arrange its faults under separate and distinct specifications.

1. Its *construction* is eminently defective. The constructive talent of an architect is shown, in a great measure, by

the ratio which is found to exist between the solid points of support, and the covered areas of his building. It is plain, that he who makes so judicious a use of the means allowed him, as to enclose the same space and to provide the same accommodation in the interior, using one half only of the material employed by another, and still preserving the greatest degree of strength that can ever be necessary in the walls of his structure, will be (so to express it) twice as scientific an architect as he who is obliged to make use of double the quantity. We have before us a printed table, in which the skill of Wren, as shown in the Cathedral church of St. Paul, is proved in this manner to be very superior to that of his predecessors in modern times,* — while Wren, in turn, falls far behind the wonderful geometrical knowledge of the Gothic architects, exemplified in the exquisite vaulted roofs and the airy towers and spires of the Middle Ages. This wise economy of material is regarded by scientific persons, as the first and highest evidence of merit. But let any one, who is competent to judge, examine the *section* of this Custom-house, as drawn and published by the architect himself, and, bearing this rule of estimation in mind, he will not think it too much to say, that the constructive talent shown in it is small indeed. He will see, that there is enough material for at least three buildings of the same size, and will stand astonished at perceiving the amount of room which is lost in the gloomy vestibules, and the stupendous loads of masonry in the interior walls and the squat piers of the lower stories. Why the space thus sacrificed was not used to

* St. Peter's Church at Rome, St. Mary's at Florence, St. Paul's at London, and St. Geneviève at Paris, are the four largest modern churches of Europe. The relation between their areas and their points of support is shown in the following comparative view :

	Eng. Feet.		Eng. Feet.	Proportion of the latter to the former.
St. Peter's stands on an area of	227,069	} of which area its points of support occupy	59,308	0.261
St. Mary's	84,802		17,030	0.201
St. Paul's	84,025		14,311	0.170
St. Geneviève	60,287		9,629	0.154

But the latter building failed so alarmingly, that it can hardly be drawn into a comparison with the three others; for it was found necessary to increase the points of support under the cupola to a considerable extent. The constructive merit, therefore, of the three first named will be to each other as the numbers 261, 201, and 170, inversely. See Mr. Gwilt's "*Account of St. Paul's Cathedral*," p. 21.

greater advantage, it is, perhaps, impossible to conjecture. The staircases, also, are steep and narrow, and entirely want that dignity which they should possess, as the only means of approach to the great central rotunda. All the stones employed in the building are too large, and though this is effected at an enormously increased cost, it detracts very considerably from the effect of the edifice, by diminishing its apparent scale. Such extravagantly *large stones always destroy proportion* ; they enlarge the *scale* of the masonry, instead of *multiplying the parts*. Hence, a large building constructed in this manner, in effect, is only a smaller one magnified. Such blocks are by no means necessary for strength or durability, for the time-defying structures of the Middle Ages are reared with stones scarcely larger than ordinary bricks. It is said, that there are few stones in York Cathedral, which the workmen could not have carried up in their hands. No such practice prevailed among the sensible Greeks, and it is very justly reprehended in some of the most approved books on the subject.

2. The *plan* of this ill-judged building is that of an hypæthral temple ; but the architect has, in the outset, very gratuitously violated the standard of taste which he himself had set up, by placing his prostyle porticos on the flank of the cell, and composing the principal elevations with engaged, three-quarter columns of Grecian Doric ! Of course, the result is one incongruous mass of jumbled features and discordant characteristics. Nothing, in any style, can be more trivial than the use of engaged columns ; they are to be classed among the worst faults of the ductile school of Palladio, where they are sometimes tolerated for their picturesque effect ; but they must be universally considered as totally opposed to the severity of the Attic orders. “ A column,” says a writer of high authority, “ is an architectural member, which should only be employed when a superincumbent weight is required to be sustained without the intervention of a solid wall ; but the moment a wall is built, the necessity and propriety of columns cease, and engaged columns always produce the effect of having been once detached, and the intermediate spaces blocked up afterwards.” The correctness of this remark will be instantly appreciated by any one who examines the columns of the Custom-house, from any point of view. Their ill effect is materially increased

by the harsh nakedness of the real wall behind them. They have, too, this additional disadvantage, that, together with the overhanging entablature, they very seriously obstruct the light of the windows, and shut in the view obtained from them to a much more confined range of vision. The absolute removal of these excrescences would be the first step necessary to make either front compatible with a truly classical style.

3. Several of the most important *details* are wretched. The windows are mere holes in the wall, not relieved by any architrave mouldings, and even wanting capitals and sills. This is the most effectual method that can be devised, to secure blankness and poverty in a design. It is received as a maxim in architecture, and one which the merest tyro is expected to understand, that the most useful parts of a building are first to be made ornamental, leaving the less useful subordinate to them in style and finish. It is in plain accordance with reason, that those ornaments which bear with them the evidence of utility ought invariably to be applied, before we venture upon such as are purely decorative. When facings to the windows, therefore, are wholly omitted, it is contrary to all principle to adorn any part of the elevation with columns, or even pilasters; for windows are, first of all, essential to the use of the building to which they belong. Yet the blank walls, thus unrelieved by any agreeable projections, are here decked out with all the pomp of fluted columns, entablature, and pediment. These offensive inequalities of taste betray very little real notion of propriety, and should have been better considered of in so large and expensive a structure.

The elevated stylobate, on which the columns are raised, is full of apertures to give light and entrance to the basement. We will attempt no criticism upon this expedient; it is equally beyond the reach of reasoning, irony, and invective. It may be said, that these openings were indispensable for convenience. Admit it; but the architect must have known all this beforehand. Why, then, did he adopt a style, the rigid severity of which, above all others, is so foreign to these fantastic tricks? Throughout the whole, as it is, he has been continually hampered by his design.

“As a dog, committed close
For some offence, by chance breaks loose,
And quits his clog; — but all in vain,
He still draws after him his chain.”

Hudibras.

It compelled him to add a cyma to the proper entablature, to remove the metopes from the frieze, and substitute glazed windows between the triglyphs, opening into the space behind the cornice. Though it should now be futile to censure these barbarisms, we deem it a duty thus openly to bear our testimony against them. "The public at large," observes the acute Dr. McCulloch, "has a claim over the architecture of a country. It is common property, inasmuch as it involves the national taste and character; and no man has a right to pass himself and his own barbarous inventions as a national taste, or to hand down to posterity his own ignorance and disgrace to be a satire and libel on the knowledge and taste of his age." But what idea will posterity be likely to form of the government architects of the nineteenth century, or of the government commissioners, who could abet such reckless squandering?

We have thought it expedient thus to go through with this structure, step by step, and to leave no serious error in it unnoticed, because it is a fair type of the whole class of modern Grecian edifices, and the solecisms upon which we have here animadverted are observable in nearly all. It is, also, without doubt, one of the most expensive undertakings ever attempted in Boston. More than eight hundred thousand dollars have not been sufficient to raise it to a proper height to receive the *dome*, — its last and crowning absurdity. By what precedent, what reason, or what rule of taste, a Doric temple is bestriden in such a way, must for ever lie beyond the comprehension of ordinary individuals; while the additional sums of money, which will be needed to complete it, may justly be considered a problem to tax the ingenious calculations of the economist to their utmost limit. After all this vast outlay, it is confidently asserted by practical judges, that the interior will never afford the requisite accommodation for the revenue offices, in a large and rapidly increasing metropolis. Its aspect, to say the least, is sufficiently gloomy and forbidding; the sullen "caves of Domdaniel" could scarcely inspire more cheerless emotions; and we question if the ill-digested arrangement of the principal apartments will not prove very inconvenient for the transaction of the business. What might have been effected, had the architect been willing to shake off the arbitrary and whimsical restrictions with which he has fettered

himself, we will not now venture to suggest. But in the present edifice, at least, we may look in vain for any confirmation of the sentiment of Cowper, that

" Art thrives most
Where commerce has enriched the busy coast :
He catches all improvements in their flight,
Spreads foreign wonders in his country's sight,
Imports what others have invented well,
And stirs his own to match them, or excel."

The High School, erected in Bedford street during the past year, is another exemplar of the worst taste. Though it presents only one front to the eye, that towards the street, on which the architect has bestowed all the pretension of the building, it yet contains, in that one, nearly as many faults as it is possible, by any ingenuity, to collect in so small a space. The lower story is in rusticated work, which, when properly executed, is susceptible of a high degree of appropriate effect. But that which is here employed is copied from the manner of the vicious French school, — consisting only of shallow horizontal stripes, as meagre and unmeaning as they are offensively monotonous. They really contribute nothing towards the intended expression of solidity, having rather the effect of weak places in the masonry. The simple introduction of vertical joints, with a different tooling of the raised surface, admitting, as it does, great diversity of arrangement and distribution, would have produced a very different result, and changed the whole character of the basement, from utter tastelessness to characteristic and pleasing beauty. This edifice is also without any door in the front, so that all visible means of obtaining entrance to it are entirely wanting. Those who watched the progress of its erection may indeed know, that the doors are constructed in the sides ; but to one who sees it for the first time, there is no evidence of any such fact ; and we can conceive, that an intelligent foreigner would be sadly puzzled to find his way into the apparently impregnable stronghold.

" Scamozzi," observes Sir William Chambers, " compares the door to the mouth of an animal, and as nature," says he, " has placed the one in the middle of the face, so the architect ought to place the other *in the middle of the front of the edifice* ; that being the most noble situation, the most majestic and convenient." But when it is left out of the design altogether, it is almost useless to pass a censure

upon an example of so low a character. If an increased convenience in the *plan* be assigned as the reason for this strange proceeding, we are satisfied, that every person of common discernment will peremptorily disallow it. A considerable degree of inconvenience should be submitted to, before such a gross violation of rule is committed. Nor would this result have been inevitable ; for, by a little painstaking and contrivance, the architect might have avoided any ill arrangement of the interior. Such flimsy excuses are becoming by far too common. "When the Devil can't swim," says the old proverb, "he always lays the fault on the water." It is, at the best, but a very feeble apology for ignorance ; and we insist, that the door should in all cases be placed in the principal front, though it only find a place in one corner of it, as in Mr. Barry's exquisite Traveller's Club House. Thus, the architect, though unable to conform exactly to recognized principles, shows, at least, that he entertains some little respect for them.

"Si

Non videtur meruisse laudem, culpâ caruisse."

The windows of the principal floor are adorned with handsome facings ; but this species of decoration is wholly omitted in the next, or highest story. We are presented, therefore, with a row of plain apertures, over windows properly executed in themselves, but thus thrown wholly out of keeping, and appearing quite foreign to the taste displayed in all the rest of the weak composition to which they are attached. A mixture of apertures with and without dressings, in the same *façade*, is one of the most glaring solecisms that can be committed. These blunders, however, are even surpassed by the highly original pediment, finished, as it is, in bold defiance of every recognized principle of building, and capping this small front with a perfect climax of absurdity. There is no horizontal entablature, but in its place, a profuse display of costly flourishes in granite, overhung by a bold, raking cornice, that appears in no way improved by its most unjustifiable divorce from its horizontal companion. In short, we believe, that there are very few offences, that can be committed against the simplest *principia* of architecture, which have been overlooked, or left out of this design, — so that it seems to have been composed, not with any intention of conforming to rules, but by way of a pleasant defiance to all of

them. Yet all the mouldings employed are savagely Grecian in profile, and even the contraction of the architraves to the windows is rigorously copied from Athenian examples. Where this excess of pretension exists on the one hand, it is natural to expect some little excellence of performance on the other ; but we fear it will be found, that the present age stands not more apart from all others for the vain boasts of its architecture, than for its real and immeasurable inferiority. We have abundant reason to cry out against the defects of the prevailing system, when we find its consequent evils thus coming home upon ourselves.

The front of the Tremont theatre was noticed in a former number of this Journal,* as one of the best proportioned and most agreeable structures in Boston. But since the publication of the article referred to, it has undergone a fearful change. The rusticated arcade of the lower story has been destroyed, the arched openings being filled in with long, straight blocks of stone, and the solid wall which flanked them, at the extremities of the *façade*, receiving a similar kind of treatment. This was done to adapt them to shop fronts, while the next or principal story has fared, if possible, somewhat worse. From the niches, where stood the statues of the tragic and comic Muses, statues, pedestals, and wall, have alike been pulled away, and the circular-headed spaces filled up with flaring glazed windows, divided into two lights by a floor cutting them across the middle. It can be imagined, how well these assimilate with the handsome, square-headed windows, which open in the central intercolumns. Five recessed panels next above these have also been opened and glazed, making a kind of *mezzanine* story, which could nowhere be more unsightly than in its present situation. The granite front, having begun to acquire a few picturesque tints from the action of the weather, has been scrubbed, and hammered, and pointed, until it looks like a staring geometrical drawing in an architect's portfolio. The interior has been barbarized into a lath and plaster hybrid of church and concert-hall, — an ingenious reconciliation of God and Mammon which it remained for the liberal and enlightened nineteenth century to discover. The superb Corinthian columns, which formerly adorned the

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII., p. 364.

proscenium, and which shone with every grace that form and color could impart, have been pulled down, and wantonly sacrificed "for a song" at a public auction. Instead of the tasteful and even elegant interior, which it formerly exhibited, and of which every Bostonian had reason to be proud, a desolate and monotonous expanse of dirty white is now spread before the eye, — small cast-iron props sustaining enormous galleries, and bare, unpainted pine supplanting all the former attractions of drapery and gilding. "Patience," exclaimed old Sir Henry Lee, "is a good nag, but she will bolt sometimes;" and we must take the license to confess, that we have scarcely any terms in which adequately to speak our idea of this Vandalic spoliation.

The 'Exchange, in State street, has many faults, with very few real beauties to counterbalance them. The proportions of the front are, indeed, tolerably good, and there is some dignity of effect produced by the breadth and regularity of its shadows. But the capitals of the great pilasters are bald and trivial, and the entablature must be objected to, as far too plain for the somewhat ornate character of the building. It is a grand mistake with our modern Grecian imitators, that they expend their whole means upon the columnar arrangement, to the neglect of all the other parts which require an equal attention. The *frieze* is almost universally left quite plain, however high a degree of embellishment is bestowed upon the lower members of the order. The columns, according to the present practice, predominate too obtrusively, and their capitals often appear cumbrous with enrichment, while the superior entablature is nude and insignificant. This produces a sad poverty of effect, inverting the natural order of enrichment, and leaving a disagreeable *hiatus* in the propriety of the whole design. Among the Greeks, the frieze was rarely without the highest decoration that sculpture could bestow; the metopes of the Parthenon were adorned with the master-pieces of Phidias, and the tympanum of the pediment was crowded with the exquisitely sculptured ideals of their whole mythology. The temple of Minerva was only the *frame* to the Elgin marbles. Where every thing of this kind is wanting, it will always be noticed, that there is an utter absence of the richness which belongs to the upper line of the structure. If continued sculpture be rejected, on account of its increased expense,

there should, at least, be a plenty of ornament of some other kind. Rich voluted scrolls, and other designs of the same character, might be introduced with great beauty of effect, and would tend, in a great degree, to produce that harmony and consistency of embellishment, which is the highest charm of a building, and which convinces the spectator, that one predominating principle has regulated the whole design. There is nothing, in architecture, worse than tasteless misapplication; it is wearing the second-hand clothes, and not the *garb* of the ancients; it has the effect of bringing the resources of modern builders into the humiliating position of a kind of architectural Brattle street. If it be received as an important truth, that nothing, however subordinate in itself, is to be passed over without its due share of attention, it certainly must be allowed that the entablature, the highest and most imposing member of the superstructure, should be carefully studied with reference to its effect upon the whole. "If you cannot be consistent in decoration," says an eminent critic, "at least be consistent in the omission of it, and do not seem even to *aim* at what you can only imperfectly accomplish. If circumstances prevent you from producing a finished picture, do not work up parts, here and there, while others are merely sketched in; in a word, attend to *keeping*."

So far, however, as ornamental sculpture appears upon this front at all, like Obadiah, "it had better been a league off." Who can look without laughing at the allegorical display over the front entrance, where every separate emblem of commerce is cut to a scale of its own, and grouped in a style that puts Hogarth's perspective to the blush; the "almighty dollar" expanded to the size of a dinner plate; the mast of a merchantman shrunk to the dimensions of a walking cane; and "the great globe itself" hardly emulating in size the proportions of a portly pumpkin? There is no wonder, that this effort of native design, when first elevated to its place, attracted such crowds of delighted lookers on. The architect must, in sooth, be a superstitious mortal, who could put his faith in such an uncouth enormity.

The great hall of the interior, with its flat dome, its bright scagliola columns, its composed capitals, its staring white walls, and its profusion of plaster ornaments, now cracked in every direction, presents a tawdry and miserable failure.

Such things as these are not architecture, but frippery. They always mark the composition of one who goes pompously to work, after other people's ideas, without possessing enough of his own to arrange them ; " perpetually misquoting and misapplying his authorities, and sneaking about in his stolen peacock's feathers, in the most unpeacock-like manner imaginable."

Under the same category with the foregoing, would we include the Custom-house at New York, and the Girard college at Philadelphia. It ought by this time to have been discovered, that a Greek temple and a sash-windowed house of three stories are ill reconciled to each other in the same edifice. The Grecian style scarcely affords a precedent for any accommodation to the wants or uses of our own time ; least of all, is it to be chosen in a building where the windows constantly occur in the different floors, and become so numerous as to influence the whole composition, and stamp it with a character entirely at variance with the expression professedly attempted in the elevations. " It is hardly possible," says Mr. Leeds, " to reconcile the *columnar* with the *fenestral* character ; since, at the best, a certain *tertium quid* will be the result, — an Italianized Grecian, or a Grecianized Italian design." Doric and plate-glass have a natural antipathy, which no ingenuity can overcome ; chimney pots certainly rise above a pediment with a less pleasing effect than the classical *acroteria* ; and the necessary offices can never be added, either to the right or the left, without becoming in themselves a grievous sin against architectural fitness, and producing a most uneven and discordant effect upon the whole.

We proceed to the examination of one other example in support of our preliminary remarks. The church in Somerset place, which has been recently completed, has called forth several unfavorable notices in one of the most influential public journals of the day, and appears to be regarded, not without reason, as a very faulty though pretending edifice. The front is, in fact, a *mask* only, built with finished and costly material, and carried up to quite an elevated height, having a *façade* of very considerable architectural pretension, with a true Attic pitch of roof, and containing no other apertures throughout its whole extent than the three doors of entrance. But the side elevations must be admitted

to present a woful contrast to the assumed elegance of the front. Roughly and coarsely built, of very inferior material, without one particle of ornament, or even of customary finish, they absolutely fall below the style of construction that is adopted in the most common warehouses, machine-shops, and founderies in the suburbs and low outskirts of the city. On the east side, the Church is closely hemmed in by a row of handsome dwelling-houses ; but even this does not prevent the shallow facing of stone from obtruding itself upon the eye, as, scarcely three inches round the corner, it is backed up with the coarse brick-work of which we have spoken ; while, on the west side, the whole is still open to a public street, presenting an aspect of architectural hideousness, that is certainly unsurpassed by any similar exhibition we have ever noticed. The observations of Mr. Pugin upon this manner of church building are so exactly appropriate in this connexion, and so fully express the ideas which we would convey, that we adopt them with a very hearty pleasure. These forcible remarks occur in his late work, "The true Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture, set forth in Two Lectures" ; a book which claims the highest consideration for the keen discrimination, the honest severity, and the thorough understanding of the subject, which it everywhere exhibits.

"A room full of seats at the least possible cost is the present idea of a church ; and, if ornament is indulged in, it is a mere screen to catch the eye of the passer by, which is a most contemptible deception to hide the meanness of the real building. How often do we see a front gable carried up to a respectable pitch, and we might naturally infer that this is the termination, both as regards height and form, of the actual roof ; but on turning the corner, we soon perceive that it is a mere wall, cramped to hold it in its position, and that it conceals a very meeting-house behind, with a flat roof, and low, thin walls, perforated by mean apertures, and without a single feature or detail to carry out the appearance it assumed toward the street. The severity of Christian architecture is opposed to all this deception. We should never make a building erected to God appear better than it really is, by artificial means. These are showy, worldly expedients, adapted only for those who live by splendid deception. Yet, in these times, *all that does not catch the eye is neglected*. A rich looking antependium often conceals rough materials, a depository for candle-ends and an accumula-

tion of dirt, which are allowed to remain, simply because they are out of sight. All plaster, cast-iron, and composition ornaments, painted like stone or oak, are mere impositions, and although very suitable for a tea-garden, are utterly unworthy of a sacred edifice. "*Omne secundum ordinem, et honeste fiat.*" Let every man build to God according to his means, but not practise showy deceptions; better is it to do a little substantially, and consistently with truth than to produce a great but fictitious effect. Hence, the rubble wall and oaken rafter of antiquity yet impress the mind with feelings of reverent awe, which never could be produced by the cement and plaster imitations of elaborate tracery, and the florid designs which, in these times, are stuck about our mimic churches in disgusting profusion."*

We have thus endeavoured to fortify ourselves upon the broad ground we assumed in the outset, and to give a reason for the decided opinions to which we shall always adhere. But unlike the fat knight of Eastcheap, we give it only "upon compulsion." We allude to existing examples only because it is necessary, while we sincerely deplore the necessity that compels us thus to speak. We would not willingly detract from any merit which the buildings we have criticized may be found to possess; far less would we seek to undervalue the professional reputation of their architects beyond that point to which their own works condemn them. Toward each of these gentlemen, indeed, we feel every inclination to observe the "Complete Angler's" advice as to impaling the minnow; to "treat him tenderly, as though you loved him." There is here no possible motive for that undue severity, which defeats its own object, and stupidly overshoots the mark at which it attempts to aim. But Sir John Harrington has wisely told us, that

"It is an act of virtue and of piety
To warn men of their sins in every sort;"

and these gentlemen will do well to recollect, that, if they have chosen to accept the emolument of such works as they have given to the world, they must also be content to bear the odium which of right belongs to them.

We trust, then, it will be conceded, that we are no dogmatists in the opinions we have now expressed. We have only gone about to try the architecture of our times by the

* Pugin's *Christian Architecture*.

standard of received maxims, which, as it has been seen, are often quoted, *ipsissimis verbis*, from the most distinguished authorities. We think there can be little doubt, that the examination has been fairly conducted. And the impression which it leaves on the mind, only strengthens us in the views we have gradually been led to adopt, from the frequent and careful reading of the most pains-taking architectural criticism of the day. We are firm in the belief, that the introduction of Grecian architecture among us has been a great mistake. Its edifices belong to another climate ; they are the legitimate offspring of a remote age, an antagonistic religion, an obsolete form of government, and a widely different state of society from our own. With us they have no concern. As well might the stately, statue-like tragedies of Euripides be expected to supplant, on our modern stage, the glowing pictures of Shakspeare and Otway. Beautiful as may be the forms which this pure style assumed, when used by its original authors, — chaste and elegant as are the Parian columns that lie scattered “on Sunium’s marbled steep,” — majestic as appears the frowning temple of Jupiter, or the elegant shrine of the guardian goddess of Athens, standing in their sublime solitude on the hills of Attica, we must still conclude, that the forms and uses to which it was then applied are far too few to satisfy the numerous and complex demands of modern art. It has, indeed, been studied with devoted diligence, and defended by its advocates with an almost Quixotic zeal. It has been declared to possess every excellence, and to combine every beauty. But whatever may be thought or said of it, *in the abstract*, we only see that it has, so far, failed to produce among us a single example that does not contradict and stultify itself repeatedly, upon the most cursory reference to the principles of its ancient prototypes. It must certainly be admitted to be deficient in variety. Originally exhibited under only one form, it is unfair to expect that it can be pressed arbitrarily into the service of all. It cannot be moulded to every purpose, nor can we engraft upon it, with impunity, whatever features our own occasions may happen to call for ; whether they are provided for or not, in the limited theory of their originals. It is, therefore, by no means an easy task, in reducing the system of the Greeks to modern practice, to avoid even the most offensive and glaring inconsistencies ; to do so will yet

require a degree of inventive genius, that can harmonize contradictions and reconcile impossibilities ; that can go beyond the exact calculations of the ancients in accomplishing a certain proposed effect, and recast every part with reference to a new and different whole.

"If, after so long a trial of it," observes Mr. Leeds, "it be found utterly incapable of giving us any thing much better or more consistent than has hitherto been produced, and that we have already exhausted its powers of design, and the combinations it admits of, we have no very great reason to be surprised, if it should now be laid aside for a style, which not only readily adapts itself to our mode of building, but derives much of its character and effect from features for which ancient architecture makes no provision, or, rather, obstinately rejects."

If, however, Grecian architecture, from its marked unfitness for our wants and uses, is ever to be generally laid aside, what is there, it may be asked, that can be proposed as a substitute for it, at least in secular edifices ? In reply, we confess that there might, indeed, be few opportunities among us for developing the powers of the highest style which flourished after the revival of letters, — the style of Bramante, of Palladio, and of Michael Angelo ; but we should, on that account, be the more desirous to see some of them well improved. Introduced into England by the great master Inigo Jones, this fine manner was followed by Wren, Vanbrugh, Kent, and his patron, the accomplished Earl of Burlington, and exhibits itself in their works at Whitehall, and at Colehill, in Berkshire, at St. Paul's Cathedral, at Blenheim, Chatsworth, and Castle Howard, and in the elegant front of Lord Burlington's own town mansion. Horace Walpole gives his impressions of the last named edifice in an account, which Mr. Britton calls "speaking of it in rapturous terms."

"As we have few samples of architecture more antique," says he, "and more imposing than that colonnade, I cannot help mentioning the effect it had on myself. I had not only never seen it, but had never heard of it, at least with any attention, when, soon after my return from Italy, I was invited to a ball at Burlington House. As I passed under the gate by night, it could not strike me. At daybreak, looking out of the window to see the sun rise, I was surprised with the vision of the colonnade that fronted me. It seemed one of those edifices in fairy tales that are raised by Genii in a night's time."

All the splendid piles to which we have alluded, are adorned with columns, in their various elevations; but are built to so extensive a scale, that their columns lose the insipid appearance of being employed as a means of decoration alone, which is often the case in the works of Palladio and his imitators. The superb fronts of Castle Howard, in particular, verify the truth of this remark. But the highest recommendation of the Italian style, and that for which we think it specially deserving of attention, is this; that although it does not reject the application of porticos and columnar supports, a higher degree of expression and dignity is often to be obtained without them. The exquisite productions of Baldassare Peruzzi, of Francesco di Giorgio, and their pupils, afford us models for enthusiastic imitation. This manner is sometimes termed the *palazzo* style, — the style invented and adopted by masters who were painters as well as architects, — who judged of their *façades*, masses, and returns by their effect upon the eye, before reducing them to a pedantic ordeal of modules. The Palazzi Riccardi, Pandolfini, Strozzi, and Gondi at Florence, — the renowned Farnese, the splendid Massimi, at Rome, and the Piccolomini, at Siena, display a true greatness of manner, that belongs to all the productions of the *acme* of Italian art, — every member and portion of the detail being strictly analogous to the style and character of the building, and kept subservient to the feeling embodied in the whole. In England, two very striking examples have been erected within a few years by Mr. Charles Barry, the successful candidate in the competition for the New Houses of Parliament, and who stands, almost by acclamation, at the head of the British school of architecture. The Traveller's Club House, first, and the Reform Club House, built soon afterwards, have given very happy evidence of his peculiar and versatile talent. The eminent appropriateness, and the picturesque and striking beauty, of the manner which he had chosen, have, beyond question, greatly conduced to form a growing taste for the *palazzo* style among the architects of "the great metropolis." The effect of this will be seen and felt for many years in the street architecture of London. We should be happy, were we able to indulge the hope, that the example of a beautiful villa, erected in Brookline, during the past year, would exert an equally favorable influence upon the neglected

domestic architecture of our own country. But the Grecian temple presses too heavily on the imagination of our professional men, to be thrown off so easily.

The Grecian temple consists of a colonnade, or exterior row of pillars surrounding the whole edifice, and on which the roof mainly depends for support. The *cell*, or enclosed portion of the building, is formed by a plain wall behind, into which no windows should open, and which was never designed either for habitation, for converse, or for congregational worship. It was entirely an inferior consideration among the Greeks, who lived, acted, and worshipped in the open air, and under the broader canopy of their cloudless sky. But with us, how different a manner of construction is pointed out by the plain necessity of the case. We require, for the greater part of the time, to be within our edifices, and not on the outside of them. We find it convenient to have our roof rest on the walls, instead of placing a superfluous row of piers beyond ; and in those walls, we must have apertures to provide us with air, light, and entrance. Construct these apertures, remove the colonnade, and place the *cornicione* upon the wall itself, and we then have the groundwork of an Italian building, which, in all its parts, is strictly conformable to the demands of common sense, and is susceptible of being so elaborated as to satisfy the highest idea of beauty.

The employment of the Grecian style obliges us, also, to banish the very idea of spires and steeples. These characteristic appendages are certainly, in themselves, very ornamental, while pointing silently to heaven, they form the outward and striking evidences of the Christianity of a people. But if the present state of things continue, they must be tacitly surrendered, and the oblong, four-sided, prostyle temple become the stereotyped pattern of design. This is plainly the deplorable crisis to which we seem to be approaching, and against which we would lift up a voice of earnest remonstrance. Perhaps, however, when the flood is at its height, it will turn of its own accord. We should not be greatly surprised at a sudden reaction. "Human nature," said Martin Luther, "is like a drunken trooper on horseback, for if you set it up on one side, down it falls on the other" ; and we are already encouraged, by certain ominous symptoms, to think it possible, that even the heaviness of

our Hellenic stone-masons may, at some time or other, encounter a serious obstacle to its complacent equipoise.

We are not, however, without some *ante-Revolutionary* edifices in Boston, which do honor to the talent of their architects, and to the liberal taste of those who employed them. It is, indeed, a sad truth, that if we look about us for any thing correct or pleasing, we do not find it so much in the works of our own time, as in those which were executed sixty or eighty years ago. One of these, the old King's Chapel in Tremont street, has often been made the subject of judicious admiration. If the exterior be bare of ornament, at any rate, it makes no pretension to any other character; it is a plain, solid, well jointed piece of masonry-work, which is respectable for its sober unity of expression, and venerable, at least in our young country, from the weather stains which have gathered upon it for nearly a hundred years. In its exterior form and character, it is almost exactly like the London churches erected at the same period, — such a one as Hawksmoor, Gibbs, or Kent would have been very likely to design. Its plan is that of a simple oblong building, with a semi-elliptical recess for the chancel, at the eastern end, and having a heavy, square tower, at the opposite front. The tower is surrounded on three sides with a plain portico, which we wish had been omitted. The order displayed in it is the Roman Ionic, and the details are executed in a correct and pleasing manner. The windows in the lower row are small, and nearly square, covered with a low, flat arch, and deeply recessed in the wall. In the next, or gallery story, they are still of the same width, but nearly twice as high, and finished with semi-circular arches, the substantial solidity of which would be aped in vain by the bricks, and cements, and compositions of our gaudy contemporaries. A bold, projecting cornice crowns the whole, relieved with modillions on its lower surface, but appearing perfectly in keeping with the main idea. There is nothing particularly handsome in all this, but it is the *sentiment* shown in it which we so much admire, — an utter absence of clap-trap and pretension, — a stern disclaimer of wishing to appear any thing more than it really is, — a plain rejection of extraneous and adscititious fictions. We defy any man of true taste to look at it in this light, for a moment, and then wish to see it stuck over with dapper shreds and patches of

Grecian ornament. But though the exterior is so designedly unpretending, the architect has bestowed a much higher, yet equally consistent, degree of finish upon the interior. The nave, or body, of the church is separated from the aisles by very elegant Corinthian columns, standing in couples, and raised upon bases a little above the height of the pews. We very willingly confess, that we do not admire the manner in which the entablature of these columns is cut up to receive the arches of the ceiling. It is a serious blemish, arising from the construction of the roof, and seems to be imitated from what has always been considered a fault in the celebrated church of *St. Martin in the Fields*. The necessity of a similar arrangement was very ingeniously avoided by Wren, in his beautiful church of *St. James, Westminster*, the roof of which is a fine specimen of economic carpentry, and should have been more familiar to the architect of our chapel. But the effect of this interior is so solemn and imposing, that we would willingly forget this slight license. There is no other church in Boston, where "the dim, religious light," so conducive to a devotional frame of mind, is admitted with such judicious and sparing economy, — the decent pulpit, desk, and clerk's desk standing apart from the chancel, — the antique altar-piece, with the Prayer, the Belief, and the "good commandments ten," — the marble monuments that occupy the centre of the wide piers, and the deep, quiet organ-loft at the western end, at once bespeak the distinctive character of a church, and make us sensible that "we cannot desecrate it, even in thought." It has the air, neither of a disguised ball-room, nor a travestied theatre; herein lies its great contrast to the churches of our own time; and it will not be thought a hasty or unadvised assertion, when we say, that there are few of these, that do not strongly resemble either the one or the other.

There is another interior, belonging to the same style and period, which deserves a high degree of admiration. It will scarcely be conceived, that the dingy and ill-shaped pile of brick, on the east side of Brattle square, conceals one of the most highly finished, elegant, and solemn interiors in the country. Perhaps the inferiority of the situation was the reason for so entirely neglecting its external appearance, which certainly gives promise of any thing else than the remarkable view obtained on entering, and disposes the unini-

tiated visiter to expect so little, that he can scarcely fail of experiencing the most agreeable disappointment. The exterior of this old church is of brick, painted a dull lead color, except the rusticated quoins, and key-stones, which are of dark brown freestone. The tower is low and square, rising only one story above the roof of the building, and having a circular-headed opening in each of its sides, to form a bell-fry for a bell of great size and very powerful tone. But if the exterior be so grim and forbidding as to repel examination, the charming interior, on the contrary, will amply repay it. It is divided transversely, by a row of four Corinthian columns, into a centre and two side aisles; the columns are deeply fluted, and adorned with the highest degree of embellishment belonging to the Roman form of this rich order. The ornate variety of the style of art which prevailed in ancient Rome at the time of the erection of that magnificent structure, the temple of Jupiter Stator, and which was closely followed in the works of the English architects at the beginning of the last century, seems to us to be much better suited to the purposes of modern interiors, than the exact and rigid proportions of those more precise examples which the present fashion almost exclusively copies. At all events, it has been fully adopted, with a very fortunate effect, in the interior under consideration. In many of its features, it reminds us strongly of the parish church of *St. Mary, Woolnoth*, in London;—an edifice described by Mr. Gwilt, as full of “such exquisite beauties, that it is irksome to dwell on its few and trifling faults.” We wish that we had access to any measurements of its dimensions, in order to ascertain how far the architect has deviated from the sesquilateral proportion so carefully adhered to by Wren, and which produces the harmony and enchanting effect so frequently observed in the interiors of that great master. It appears, however, so far as it can be judged by the eye alone, to be designed, though not after Wren’s rule, yet with a great degree of uniformity and attention to geometrical arrangement. It should not remain unvisited by any one who has a mind to see how architecture was practised in Boston at a time when the wealth of the city was not great, and, as might be supposed, its actual means of refinement were in a far less advanced state than at present. It would certainly be

more gratifying to us, could we honestly give our opinion, that art had been a decided gainer by the change.

The little episcopal church at Cambridge was erected not far from the same period, being finished in the year 1760. It is, or rather *was*, for the interior went through the ordeal of *church-wardenizing* not long ago, a model of beauty and propriety in all its parts. No one can fail to observe the happy effect of its exterior proportions, and the dignity it acquires from the deep cornice with which it is finished. On each side elevation are five long, circular-headed windows, surrounded with a bold moulding, ending in a return, and imparting a great degree of relief to the apertures which it decorates. The tower is singularly modest and charming, with not one half the show, but infinitely more than the merit, of its opposite neighbour. The effect of the interior, though somewhat injured by alterations, is yet very pleasing. There is no doubt, that the architect intended to have made the entablature continuous, instead of carrying it up in a square mass over every single column; but a want of the necessary funds is said to have prevented its completion. The organ gallery, and the three doors under it, are designed in fine taste; the order throughout the whole interior being the bold and graceful Roman Ionic, with its angular volutes and delicately finished modillions. The aspect of the church is much impaired by the situation of the painted altar-piece, which was brought from the old Trinity church in Boston, when that building was taken down, and has been stuck up in its present situation, at the wrong end of the church, without any regard to propriety or effect. The arrangement of the pulpit, desk, and pews was formerly much more in keeping than at present, the pulpit standing forward into the nave, as at the King's Chapel; but it is now very improperly removed back, so as only to be reached by an inconvenient circuit inside the altar railing.

It is a pity, that any circumstances should intervene, to impair the pleasing impression which the architecture of this beautiful little church is calculated to convey. But pleasing as it is, it is quite evident, that the example set forth in its design has been almost without any effect upon the public taste. It appears to have been imitated only in a single instance, — a church in the same town, which stands a little

to the left, as we enter by the high road from Boston. But the alterations made in the copy cannot be viewed as improvements upon the original. The elegant simplicity of the one becomes only baldness in the other, which, however, is certainly a much prettier church than many others we could mention in its vicinity. It is strange, that the purity and harmony of character observable in the older church should generally have been so feebly appreciated, and, in this case, so poorly copied. But where we find one architect who is willing to acknowledge its merit, there are many who would not rest satisfied, till it had been *improved* out of all its real beauties. Few can hope to equal the elegance of this example, and, look about us where we will, we do not find that any one has, as yet, been able to surpass it. Their works want that piquant but proper originality, which this design exhibits.

"The architect," observes Mr. Loudon, "to whom architecture is not an art of imagination as well as an art of reason, can never, by any possibility, rise above the rank of an imitative builder. He may rear edifices of great strength, solidity, and durability, very fitly arranged for the purposes for which they are built, and very correct in their architectural details; but he will never be able to produce a structure in which novelty and originality are combined with the other requisites of excellence; or, when placed in a situation where rules no longer apply, to rise superior to obstacles which would be reckoned insurmountable by ordinary minds, and thus out of difficulties to start beauties. This can be done alone by the architect of imagination, and it is only such an architect that is entitled to be considered as an artist possessing the powers of invention, or genius."

We cannot but repeat here the wish expressed on a former occasion, that the faultless proportions of the Cambridge church may yet be imitated and preserved in stone. We often tremble for the safety of so beautiful a model, exposed to all the accidents of decay and of fire, to which a wooden building is always liable.

Coming down to a somewhat later period, we find in this vicinity several steeples and spires, which we cannot allow to pass without some degree of commendation. First among these, for elegance of contour and pleasing disposition of its parts, we are inclined to place the steeple of the octagonal church in Summer street. Upon the body of the church

itself, we should only waste time in bestowing any criticism at all. But above the portico, we conceive the steeple to possess a great share of merit. The manner in which it diminishes in the various stories, and changes from a square to a circular, and then to an octagonal, plan, is certainly very agreeable to the eye. Upon a broad square stylobate, next above the roof, it rises in three separate divisions, adorned with columns at the breaks, and containing arched windows in the principal sides. These stories, and the elevated bases on which they rest, are very symmetrically proportioned to each other, and all the main points of which they are composed are kept strictly within the line of an imaginary pyramid; while the angles are occupied with ornamental vases, of pleasing figure, which have been judiciously introduced, to fill up the outline of the corners, and conduce to the regularity of its conical form. To the strict observance of this valuable idea, the architect is mainly indebted for his success. Notwithstanding occasional improprieties of detail, (such as the introduction of balusters, where sunken panels would have been more appropriate,) yet, considering it as a mass, and with regard to its graceful and airy effect, we cannot hesitate to assign a higher rank to it than to any specimen of the kind which we are now so fortunate as to possess. To combine lightness and harmony in such a work must always be a difficult task. The lofty magnificence and the exuberant fancy of the pointed style are denied to a structure, that is to be made up only of distinct and different portions of architectural detail. The classic orders abound in horizontal lines and shadows, and naturally form themselves into a very different species of combinations. In fact, they have no affinity whatever to steeple-like erections, and the architect who thus employs them will vainly endeavour to rival the beauty of that style, to which these striking appendages more properly belong.

The steeple of the church in Hollis street, though it has some good points, is yet very faulty from the fact that it diminishes in a broken and irregular manner. The columns of the upper story, which is next below the springing of the spire, have, at a little distance, the effect of a temporary staging placed round the body of the steeple. The pyramidal outline has not been attended to at all, and the natural consequence is, an utter want of lightness and of continuity

of effect. Its elevation from the ground is very considerable, and it forms quite a conspicuous object in all the distant views of the city. The spire in Park street is also very lofty and imposing, and is said to have been mainly copied from one of Gibbs's published designs. The *mannerisms* observable in its construction seem to give some support to the suggestion. As a whole, it makes quite a showy figure, and forms an agreeable architectural object in a general view of the Common; but its different portions will not well bear the test of a closer inspection. The steeples of St. Paul's and St. John's churches, in New York, are also not unfavorable examples of this kind of structure. They are attached to buildings which display a Roman order, and are not much inferior in design to those of the same style to be met with abroad. They were erected forty or fifty years ago. But nearly all our recent churches, being designed after Grecian models, are destitute of steeples, which, as we have before remarked, are so much at variance with that manner of building, that it would be the height of impropriety to introduce them.

Having thus considered the relative merits of those edifices in our neighbourhood, which are imitated from the antique specimens of Greece and Rome, it will perhaps be expected, that we next pass to an examination of the Gothic structures that have been erected in the United States within the last few years. In these, we rejoice to perceive an increased knowledge, and a growing taste. There are few things in architecture, that could hold out less promise of excellence, than the old Trinity church and the Masonic Hall, in New-York, and the Temple and the Federal street church, in Boston. But since the erection of these, it is evident, that a rapid advance has been made in an acquaintance with the true principles of the Gothic style. We are satisfied of this, when we see such edifices as Christ church, Brooklyn, and the new Trinity church in New York, rising, in almost mediæval grandeur, upon our western shores. It is truly gratifying to perceive such substantial evidences of the wealth, the taste, and the piety of a people. We trust that, before many years have elapsed, we shall see among us more churches like these, which are, indeed, truly worthy of the name.

We gladly take the present opportunity to confess, as we

have done on a previous occasion, the strongest predilection for this glorious style. It is consecrated by the most intimate connexion with the origin and progress of our faith. By those who have made themselves most thoroughly acquainted with its principles, it is even denominated the *Christian* style, in contradistinction to all the others, which had their origin in the darkness of remote and heathen antiquity. In their form, their construction, and their detail, its edifices are strikingly emblematical of the doctrines of Christianity. It is impossible, then, that they should not, by the force of association, exert a very powerful influence over the mind which is disposed to be assisted by them. It is observed by Mr. Dowson, in his elegant "Essay on the Metaphysics of Architecture," that "the scenes around us become, as it were, the pedestals, upon which our souls naturally exalt themselves to take a view of the things beyond." This kind of association can nowhere be more necessary than in a house of worship. From music, poetry, painting, or sculpture, we can easily escape, if they cause impressions which are inharmonious or unpleasing; but it is impossible to avoid the impressions received from sacred architecture, unless we also banish ourselves from the ordinances of divine service, and habitually turn away our feet from the appointed exercises of religious worship. Every thing, therefore, which can contribute toward detaching the affections from the common and ordinary affairs of life, should be brought before the eye in a religious edifice; and it must be admitted that the solemn Gothic is admirably adapted for this purpose. There are few, indeed, who can withstand its impressive influence, or fail to be affected with the serious emotions it at once excites in the mind. For ourselves, we cannot desire that kind of satisfaction, which some have endeavoured to derive from a denial of these truths. "Far from me and my friends," said the wise and pious Dr. Johnson, "be such frigid philosophy! That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

In looking back over the history of Christianity, the events which mark its progress, and the great principles which it has continually kept alive, seem to us to be indelibly associated with the solemn edifices in which, from time to time, they have been either acted, or proclaimed. So long as these

invaluable monuments remain, they must always be viewed with the highest interest, and approached only with a feeling of reverent admiration. Mr. Pugin has very ingeniously endeavoured to show, that it is in them alone, that the great *æsthetical* principles of building have been fully carried out. Without venturing to question the correctness of this position, or to examine the numerous reasons which he has adduced in its support, we may remark, that many of the imitators in ecclesiastical architecture have certainly proceeded upon very erroneous principles in the formation of their designs. It is little to be wondered at, that many of our Gothic churches and other edifices are so unsatisfactory, when we observe, how different their designs are from those of the Gothic architects themselves, whose works are proposed as models for imitation. The fact, that at least six different stages or styles are clearly recognized in pointed architecture, — each one distinguished from the rest by peculiarities that are not to be mistaken, — has very often been lost sight of by our builders; while the adoption of any species of pointed arched windows, with rude imitations of embattled parapets, and sometimes a few buttress-like projections from the walls, has been dignified among us with the honorable title of a Gothic design. It is true, that a better and more rational manner is now beginning to prevail, as the copious and elegant illustrations of its finest examples are more closely studied. But such solecisms as are observable in some of our earlier works of the kind would not have been committed by persons acquainted even with the leading principles of the pointed style, since the marked changes which it successively underwent can be easily understood by a reference to the history of the circumstances which occasioned them. There is no doubt, that the successive steps in this gradual transition are very clearly defined.

A few churches had been constructed during the early period in which the Romans still retained possession of Britain. The progress of Christianity upon that uncivilized soil was slow and difficult, and its struggles under the Dioclesian persecution, and under the wild irruption of the Northern barbarians, produced a perceptible effect upon the sacred architecture of the fourth and fifth centuries. In the rude strife and turmoil of those primitive times, when the Roman legions had been recalled by the tottering state from the charge of con-

quests which she was no longer able to maintain, and civil disorder on all sides was at its height, the shrines of the new religion were almost entirely demolished, and their worshippers, as a body, scattered and lost in the paganism which rose upon their ruins. But when, at the end of the sixth century, the zeal of Augustine and Mellitus had rekindled the extinguished flame, and Christianity was again preached and propagated among the people, the new converts were assisted, in erecting their churches, by architects and workmen from the Papal city. Many of the Roman temples, and of the basilicas, or halls of justice, which still remained in existence, though in a neglected and dismantled condition, were repaired and consecrated to the services of the church. It is confidently believed, that the internal arrangement of these edifices was still retained, and first gave a form to the interior of all the religious structures which succeeded them. We find, that they were divided, by rows of columns, into three longitudinal spaces, like the nave and aisles of a church, and that the *apsis*, or semi-circular east end, still observable in some of the venerable Norman churches, had its distinct prototype in the recessed seats of the civil tribunal. The round arches, which, in the debased Roman buildings, sprung immediately from the imposts of the low and massive columns, and by their inelegance marked the decline of the last stage of Roman art, were copied with little alteration into these rude ecclesiastical structures, while the whole style of detail was left almost entirely devoid of ornamental finish. But in the subsequent invasions of the fierce Danes, it was their fate to meet with another almost general destruction, so that the number of churches, which can with any certainty be referred to the period of the Heptarchy, is, in fact, very small. Before the subject of ecclesiastical antiquities, however, had become of such general interest as at present, and when such an accurate knowledge of its history and principles as we now possess had not been acquired, nor even sought for, a very confused notion of its early state had arisen, from the indiscriminate application of the term "Saxon" to almost every edifice, in which the form of the pointed arch was not distinctly exhibited. This erroneous idea is still very frequently entertained; but the truth is, that the remains of Saxon architecture are now so inconsiderable, that its peculiarities could scarcely be illustrated by a reference to the

whole of them. The masonry is stated to be chiefly composed of rubble, with squared blocks of stone at the angles, and to have differed little in appearance from the latest specimens of the debased Roman manner of building.

But during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the doctrines of Christianity had obtained a firmer foothold, and the edifices in which its worship was conducted had become the objects of general veneration and respect. Many more churches were erected, which, in size and style, far excelled the rude structures of the preceding age. Of these Norman buildings, there are many still remaining, in a state of excellent preservation. Parts of the older cathedrals are referable to this period, and the thick walls, massive piers, and heavy, semicircular arches of Winchester, Rochester, Norwich, and Durham, still seem likely to retain their stable solidity to the end of time. In their external appearance, the structures of this period are rather uniform and monotonous, and, though in the larger examples, different tiers or stories of arches were generally introduced, the buildings in which they appear are entirely devoid of any lightness or elegance of design. The few buttresses which project from the walls are plain and shallow, and seem, as observed by Mr. Bloxam, "intended rather to relieve the plain external surface of the wall than to strengthen it." But between the earlier and later examples, it must be allowed that a marked difference is observable,—and the introduction of clustered columns, larger windows, and a profusion of enriched mouldings, appears to have gradually led the way to that lightness and elegance, which at once resulted from the discovery of the pointed arch. At the commencement of the thirteenth century, it had come into almost universal use, and the whole character of the style submitted to a consequent change.

The style of the thirteenth century is that which appears best fitted for our imitation. In its general character, it is light and simple; and though all superfluous ornament is carefully avoided, it may be observed, that in no style is a proper management of the details more indispensable than in this. When judiciously applied, and properly executed, they constitute one of its chief beauties. But as experience has abundantly proved, it is quite possible so to vulgarize their forms, and mistake their application, as to render them offensive excrescences, rather than ornamental enrichments.

Every effort should, therefore, be made, whenever this style is adopted, to preserve a harmonious consistency throughout. The roof should rise with an acute pitch, scarcely less than forty-five degrees, and all the dressings of the windows and doors, the pinnacles, buttresses, string-courses, and water tables, should be selected with the greatest care from the best examples *of the period*. If these be neglected, as they often have been, the experienced eye will be dissatisfied, and the well-meaning architect will suffer rather than profit by a critical investigation.

So little, however, has this unity of style been attended to in this country, that every liberal lover of the arts cannot but perceive, that a very loose idea, as well of plan as of decoration, has been encouraged in some of those meagre and miserable Gothic edifices, which, it is to be hoped, have already had their day. We have seen, for instance, the low, flat ceilings, the four centred arches, and the lighter shrine-work of the Tudor period, brought by our builders into the same design with the square piers, lancet windows, and peculiarly distinctive mouldings of the early English and the Decorated styles, — absurdities which are a source of great annoyance to every person of sound judgment and cultivated taste. For the first idea to be learned from the books is this, — that an incongruous intermingling of the manner of one century with that of another, is a total violation of architectural propriety, contrary to all the real principles of design, and, in the view of all who have studied the subject, totally destructive to the general effect. These

“jarring seeds of ill-concerted things”

are peculiarly obnoxious in an early English building, the effect of which results much more from its form and outline, than from the introduction of any adventitious details.

The east end of Ely cathedral, the fine minster at Southwell, the Temple church in London, and parts of Westminster abbey, of Salisbury, Wells, and Lincoln cathedrals, exhibit fine examples of this style. There are, also, many collegiate and parish churches, which are the work of the same period; and an abundant series of studies will be found in Pugin's “Specimens,” in Mr. Britton's “Cathedrals,” and in the “Chronological Dictionary,” by the same author.

Whenever stained glass can be introduced in the windows

of a Gothic edifice, it imparts an air of splendid solemnity, which can be attained in no other way. Human invention could not add another feature so imposing as this to the dignity of the sacred structure, and few of the finer examples among the ancient buildings were wanting in all the attractions which it could be made to produce.

“Color and form alike their powers engage
In trophies of the proud baronial age;
Azure and crimson, green and gold unite;
Friezes and chapiters, in glory dight,
Blaze with imposing splendor o'er the sight.
Enamelled flowers their graceful foliage twine,
And pictured mouldings thread the golden vine;
Fair in their form, and glorious in their hue,
They blend harmonious, and the mind subdue.” — *Edmeston*.

The Decorated style commenced about the beginning, and continued nearly to the close, of the next century. It chiefly flourished during the reigns of Edward the Second and Edward the Third, “in the latter of which,” says Mr. Bloxam, “it attained a degree of perfection unequalled by preceding or subsequent ages.” There is a greater redundancy of chaste ornament in this than any other style, and it has, with great propriety, been generally considered by the critics as the most beautiful style of English architecture, not exhibiting the daring flights of constructive talent so much as the next period, but certainly reaching the *acme* of beauty in design. Some of the essays of our own builders in the Gothic style have been made in professed imitation of this period, not unmixed, however, with a bad attempt at the features of all the rest. We fear that the antiquaries of a future age will be sadly confused in referring these buildings to their proper date, by a comparison of the distinctive points which they exhibit. In this way, indeed, the date of the structures of antiquity is determined, but it will scarcely hold good when we come to the consideration of our own.

The Masonic temple, which was the first Gothic structure of any pretension in Boston, has before been noticed at such length in this Journal,* that it is unnecessary to do more than allude to it at present. We are glad, however, to be thus relieved from going into a full analysis of its claims, which, we are assured, would be no very pleasing

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII., p. 364.

task to our readers or ourselves. Not much more favorable is our idea of the new Library at Cambridge. It is another unfortunate instance of unsupported pretension. The longer arm of the cross, did it stand alone, would be too low, flat, and heavy to produce any agreeable or consistent impression. But in addition to this, the architect has very injudiciously added transepts, extending laterally to such a distance as to aggravate this defect, and effectually to destroy the vertical proportions of the edifice. There is nothing light or spiry in the whole composition, and when we recollect that it has been extolled as "presenting a favorable specimen of the ecclesiastical style of the fourteenth century," we shall consider this defect as a very serious objection to the validity of so high a claim. The material of which it is built is scarcely suited to this style. It is of so hard and unyielding a texture, that it is worked with great difficulty, and could not be brought into the pliant forms of decorative detail, unless at a very great expense. Nor do we believe that, when thus elaborated, it would produce the intended result. The mouldings of this period are undercut, and present that infinite variety of light and shade, which can only arise from the aerial tints being most carefully studied. But the more this material is hammered and brought to a smooth surface, the stiffer becomes its effect; because the parts cut are rendered lighter, instead of darker, than the natural surface, as split from the quarry, and the intended effect of relief and shadow is thus counteracted and lost. The chocolate colored free-stone of Connecticut and New Jersey is a far better material, being much softer and darker than granite; and it is with great pleasure that we have learned, that it is intended to make use of this stone in the construction of a new church in Hanover street. If a chapel is to be erected at Mount Auburn, it should be of this material, and no other. We shall then have an opportunity to compare the glaring uniformity of the one with the shadowy repose of the other; and when these different results are fairly brought into contrast, we have some room to hope for the future adoption of the better and cheaper material. The monastic architects were too wise to waste their time and labor upon an unsuitable stone, and, dissatisfied in many instances with that which England afforded, they crossed the British Channel, and brought the rich Caen stone from the shores of Normandy to

their workmen at Canterbury and Westminster. Communication among us is now so rapid, cheap, and easy, that little excuse should be conceded to our architects for an oversight in this important particular.

The details of this building, so far as it has any, are decidedly displeasing. The ends of the transepts, in particular, are very offensive, being made up of slight buttresses and large trefoil windows, thrown together *en applique*, effectually disturbing the uniformity of the longitudinal perspective, and causing a want of harmony, rather than an effect of variety and proper distribution. We have repeatedly looked at it in vain, to discover any beauty in its whole conception. The architect has evidently been playing with an edge tool, that has sadly wounded his inexperienced fingers. We believe we are correct in saying, that the general opinion respecting his performance, among persons of taste, is far from being favorable.

Worse and worse, for the credit of Boston, is the nondescript pile of stone in Bowdoin square. It occupies a fine situation, which ought to have been well improved. But we cannot so far rely upon our powers of moderation as to proceed with a specific *critique*. We only think with Candidus, in his note-book, that "it is the consummation of all that is beggarly and miserable, and I think, that, if the architect had any spirit, he would have hanged himself as soon as it was completed." How is it possible, that such a structure as this can be planned and erected by a professional man, at a time when our public and private libraries contain so many lucid works on the subject of the Gothic style? It must be, that the more opportunity such a person possesses, the less he troubles himself to comprehend. Dr. Southey speaks of an admirable print among George Withers's emblems, having for its motto, "*Cæcus nil luce juvat*." It represents an owl, standing in broad sunshine, with a pair of spectacles on his beak, a lighted candle on each side of him, and a blazing torch in each claw; and the more light there is, the less is the owl able to see. No happier emblem, we think, could be imagined to typify that school of builders, who rear such enduring evidences of their powers of observation. The spirit of the pointed style requires the intensest study, and can never be acquired without a great degree of *con amore* application. A great Gothic building is a glorious

epic, and he who cannot see poetry in the aisles of York minster would be sorely puzzled to find any in "Paradise Lost"; but it requires, in either case, some degree of taste to appreciate these beauties, and some study to understand them. Tried by this balance, how many of our builders will be found wanting?

Trinity church, in Boston, is the largest Gothic structure in the city, and where all are so bad, this, in some respects, must be allowed to be the best. "In this world," says Sir William Temple, "whatever is called good, is so comparatively with other things of this kind." We are surprised, whenever we enter it, that the interior should be so imposing as it is, and that it produces something akin to a very good effect, while nearly all the details are so objectionable. The piers are too slight, the galleries too heavy, the chancel too small, the nave too wide, and the roof too low. The tone of color, however, is well chosen, and, were less light admitted, would be still more effective. But the organ and organ-loft are perfectly exquisite; they were designed, and the former executed, in England, and were placed in their present position about six years ago. We do not believe there is, at present, another so fine a piece of Gothic panelling and tracery in America. A very great improvement has recently been effected in this church, by dismissing the pulpit and desk from the chancel, where they should never have been placed, and erecting others of a more appropriate form in the space in front of the altar railing. The chancel has also been enriched with additional decoration, and a fine mural tablet in *alto-relievo*, to the memory of the late Bishop Griswold, is now in the hands of the able sculptor, Mr. Brackett, intended to be placed between the two large windows at the east corner of the southern aisle. Whatever this interior now possesses of pleasing effect has been acquired since the time when some allusion was made to it in this Journal, and is entirely due to subsequent alterations and decorations. These have been so thoroughly carried out, that the church presents a very different, and certainly a much improved, appearance. But there is still a great *weakness* throughout the whole, arising from defects which are inherent in the construction of the building, and can never be got rid of in any other way than by a total renovation of the whole design.

The inertness and inanity of this building very well illustrate a point upon which we had determined to speak. They afford a fair example of the mischief which is done by interfering with the completeness of an architect's intentions, and pruning away, as useless expenditures, all the vitals of his design. Many fine and sensible conceptions have thus been ruined in the outset. Had intermeddling committeemen kept their hands off from what they were fitted, neither by nature nor by education, to comprehend, far less to control, — so many of our most expensive public buildings would not be disfigured by the crudities which they now present. The faults which strike us so disagreeably in this edifice are, to our knowledge, by no means attributable to the architect; they were forced upon him by "the Committee," that inexorable tribunal of taste, from whose authoritative decision there is no hope of appeal. The low, deformed story which terminates the tower, with its enlarged *quatrefoil* openings, and its flimsy battlement, it can well be imagined, formed no part of the original design. The same is true of the weak clusters of columns that support the galleries, and of the anomalous ceiling, that, were it really of stone, as it now assumes to be, would either depend for support upon some secret principles of construction as yet unknown to geometrical science, or else adopt the only disagreeable alternative allowed to it by the laws of gravitation, and perhaps immure a devout, attentive, and unsuspicious congregation under its rubbish. Upon any recognized principles of the arch, it would not stand for an instant. So long, however, as it was evidently lath and plaster, and therefore easily known to be supported from the roof behind, it did not appear dangerous, or perhaps we should say, *impossible*. But now that the skill of the decorative artist has been called in, to give to it the semblance of a stone vaulting, and the deceptive appearance of the different courses is so well carried out as, in many instances, to impose upon the eye, it becomes evident, at the same time, to the most careless spectator, that a vault, so constructed, could be kept in its place by nothing short of a direct miracle.

"More might be said of this to give a proof,
But more to say were more than is enough."

The design of an architect should be strictly consistent

and uniform in all its parts. How often this standard of excellence is really arrived at, even in the portfolio, it would perhaps be difficult to ascertain ; but it is certainly incumbent upon those who have the ostensible direction of his movements, if they cannot assist him, at least to refrain from tying his hands. If, indeed, it be right

“to compare
Small things with greatest,”

we shall do them a service by repeating Dr. South's pithy observation, that “the knowledge of what ought and what ought not to be done, is a thing too large to be compassed, and too hard to be mastered, without brains and study, parts and contemplation.” It is not to be supposed, that they are fit to take the direction of that which they have never studied, or of which they have, at best, but a very imperfect idea. General instructions, therefore, in the outset, are all that should ever be issued. A statement of the intended form and extent of the edifice, of the style to be employed, and of the limit of expense, are instructions enough ; the architect then goes properly and safely to work, and can easily bring his project within the limit which is prescribed. But when his drawings are completed, he should never submit to have them pared down or altered by an ambitious, a whimsical, or a penurious committee of taste. We have known an instance, where, after a Grecian design had been procured from an architect of acknowledged respectability, one of the committee-men peremptorily insisted on the introduction of *pointed windows*, giving it to be understood, that he had quite made up his mind to that item, at least, and that he had come into the commission with a full determination to use his whole influence in favor of what he esteemed the handsomest form a window could be made to assume. The entablature of the Ionic portico was accordingly divided, over the central intercolumn, the pillars were set back, and engaged in the wall, and a huge, equilateral arched window filled up the whole centre of the front, rose through the gap in the horizontal entablature, and finished in a point under the apex of the pediment above it. The church where this was done is now to be seen within twenty miles of Boston.

These are only a few of the absurdities which are introduced by ignorance in authority. The architect who has a real interest in his profession, and who does not follow it

only for the income it affords, should prepare himself to encounter these difficulties, and endeavour, by persuasion and argument, to remove them. It is only by taking this high stand, that he can aid in establishing the dignity of the body to which he belongs. If he fail of success in his attempts to convince, and finds that he is to be overruled in essential points, we are clearly of opinion, that he is bound in honor and conscience to withdraw. And though these obstacles must always continue, in some degree, to occur, —

“ They might be met with ease, by a determination on the part of professional men to give no assistance whatever, beyond the mere superintendence of construction, unless they be permitted to take the whole design into their own hands, merely receiving broad instructions respecting the style, (and not attending to them unless they like.) They should not make out the smallest detail, unless they were answerable for the whole. In this case, gentlemen architects would be thrown so utterly on their own resources, that, unless those resources were adequate, they would be obliged to surrender the task into more practised hands; and, if they were adequate, if the amateur had paid so much attention to the art as to be capable of giving the design perfectly, it is probable he would not erect any thing strikingly abominable.” — *Architect. Mag.*, Vol. IV.

While, then, we are aware that this state of things actually exists, and have thus allowed our acquaintance with the facts, it will perhaps be deemed partial and unfair in us to lay the faults of our architecture, in the first instance, upon its professors. Did we form our judgment from the appearance of executed buildings alone, there would be a strong color of truth in the objection. Swift somewhere intimates, that “ what a man is forced to, is no diminution of his wisdom.” But if we look for a moment at the published designs of architects, — where no such control as that of which we have spoken has ever existed, or could exist, — the result will not be very different from that at which we have already arrived.

It is understood, that Mr. Shaw, the author of the book which stands at the head of this article, has written and published several works upon subjects connected with the profession of architecture. We have no doubt, that he can draw the contract and indite the specifications for carpenters’ and masons’ operations, as well as any of his professional

compeers. But it should be recollected, that this is but a very small part of the various learning which an architect is expected, and bound, to possess. We do not see, in the work before us, any evidence of much greater ability. The author appears to be one of those old fashioned five-order men, who have grown antic in the decline of their favorite system, and have endeavoured, by a vigorous push, to accommodate themselves to the surprising achievements of their later and more successful rivals. But the principle remains the same, though its manifestation is somewhat changed ; and it is not hard to perceive, that he has merely discarded Vitruvius for Benjamin, and Sir William Chambers' "Treatise" for "The Builder's Guide." We are accordingly presented with *Doric cottages* and Ionic and Corinthian dwelling-houses in plenty ; the Grecian detail is faultlessly exact, and, no doubt, minutely transcribed from Stuart ; but it is only the skin of the lion on the body of the ass. The parts are grouped into grotesque and heterogeneous forms, and fitted together as a child fits the pieces of a wooden puzzle. The combinations presented are senseless, inanimate, and rigid, — mere unmeaning form, without one particle of life-giving spirit ; and the highest praise that can be given them is, that they are purely Grecian, as that term is now understood. They are likely to satisfy the highest aspirations of all admirers of "classic dwellings," and to their patronage we specially recommend them. They exhibit a fair example of the happy effect produced by treating an Athenian temple as a dwelling-house for an American family ; and we would refer to plates 9 and 10, in particular, exhibiting a Doric temple with an attic story, as the very *beau-ideal* of this species of combination. For originality in the invention of ugliness, it may safely stand without a parallel.

Of Gothic architecture, of the power and greatness of talent displayed in the ecclesiastical structures of the Old World, of the noble conceptions of beauty in their design, and of the almost incredible mechanical skill evinced in their construction, Mr. Shaw has, evidently, about as adequate an idea as any quadruped whose name could be selected from the extensive nomenclature of modern zoölogy. If any thing can go beyond his "Gothic churches," let it be produced, and we will hold our breath while we look on. We cannot

look at the odd havoc and intermixture they exhibit, without exclaiming with the waggish Petruccio,

“What! up and down, carv’d like an apple tart?
Here’s snip, and nip, and cut, and slish, and slash,
Like to a censer in a barber’s shop:
Why! what, o’ devil’s name, tailor, call’st thou this?”

But here, there is perhaps less necessity for remark. The Doric cottages, the Corinthian villas, may be copied, and probably will be, for there is no doubt that they are sufficiently expensive and sufficiently absurd to be at once considered very tasteful; but it is scarcely possible, that any individual can be so misguided as to entertain any predilection for Mr. Shaw’s Gothic. We leave the plates, therefore, to speak for themselves, (plates 51 and 52), merely remarking, however, upon the estimate given in the description which is appended to the latter, that “five hundred persons can be seated with comfort” in the building which it represents, — that such comfortable persons must have very little real perception of beauty in theory, and still less regard for it in practice. As a church for the *blind*, it would doubtless answer as well as any other.

Our limits prevent us from noticing two very excellent churches at Hartford as fully as their merit deserves. We must pass to a rapid notice of the magnificent church, now erecting in the city of New-York, with which we must close our already protracted article. Trinity church stands in Broadway, opposite the head of Wall street, on the site of the old building of that name, a flimsy edifice erected in 1788. The former church presented no great beauty of appearance, and, upon an examination with a view to extensive repairs, was found to be so much decayed, that it was at once decided to take it down, and erect a new structure more worthy of the increased wealth of the parish, and of the high position which it occupies, as the oldest Episcopal establishment in the commercial metropolis of America. A design having been prepared by the able architect, Mr. Upjohn, it was accepted by the vestry, and the works were soon commenced. The body of the church is now nearly completed. In size, in the delicacy and propriety of its decoration, and in the beauty of its general effect, we are inclined to think, that it surpasses any church erected in England since the revival of the pointed style. The new

church of St. Luke, Chelsea, from the designs of Mr. Savage, minutely illustrated in Mr. Britton's descriptions and plates, will bear no comparison with the catholic propriety and finished elegance of this American structure. Governed by simple and consistent principles, the architect has conceived and finished it in the true and delicate spirit of the chastest period. It rivals the accurate taste of the best works of the fourteenth century, and is carried out upon a scale which we had deemed it impossible to adopt, in a country where architecture is in so chaotic a state. With the single exception of the guild chapels and private chantries introduced by Mr. Pugin in his engraving of a perfect church, it very nearly resembles that enthusiastic ideal of an ecclesiastical edifice of the Middle Ages.

The extreme length of this superb structure is 192 feet. The tower and spire, which rise with an airy grandeur resembling that of the celebrated church of Louth in Lincolnshire, are terminated by a rich crosslet, at the height of 264 feet from the ground. The width of the nave, between the columns, is 37 feet, and the width of the church, in the clear, including the aisles, is 84 feet. There are nine equilateral arched windows on each side of the nave, corresponding in their position to the interior spaces between the piers. The *clerestory* is unusually lofty, and from its numerous openings will pour down a flood of checkered light upon the marble pavement below. The great window at the end of the chancel is the largest in the building, being 28 feet wide, and 44 feet high. It has fourteen principal compartments, which are to be filled with painted glass, representing the twelve apostles, with the Virgin and child. Under this window stands the altar; the pulpit is designed to be placed against one of the large columns, about half way down the nave. The organ is to be placed on a highly sculptured stone screen, over the entrance from the tower to the nave. The pews will be of black walnut, with characteristic paneling and *finials*, and are to occupy the nave only. The entire cost of the edifice will be over \$ 500,000.

We are happy to perceive, by a print of this church recently published, that the spire has been more highly enriched than in the original design. Had it been erected in so plain a style as was at first proposed, it would have been a defect, which, in our eyes, would have ruined the whole building.

A light and highly decorated tower, surmounted by a plain, naked, and heavy spire, without any crocketing, foliated bands, or canopied windows in its sides, would have appeared so distressing a deformity, that we should infinitely have preferred, that the first stone of the structure had never been laid. If a diminution of expense were the object, it would be far better that the spire should remain unfinished ten, twenty, or even fifty years, rather than be completed in a slovenly and inappropriate manner.

In expressing the opinions which have now been given to our readers, a choice seemed to be presented us between the mere assertion of general principles, with observations upon their general manifestation, and an explicit statement of real and tangible facts, illustrated by direct references to well known examples. We have adopted the latter course, as being more pointed and forcible, and therefore more likely to create the intended impression. We think it a subject, not only of private interest, but of great public importance. We have not yet advanced to that length in architecture, that a treatise upon the *metaphysics* of the art is so much called for, as a little searching and vigorous criticism upon existing faults. But whenever we have found it possible to connect general principles with the illustration of our positions, it will be observed, that we have not scrupled to do so ; and if these should be found, in some degree, a repetition of the arguments of others, it will, at least, be recollected, that it is impossible to originate a new grammar of the arts, and that, upon this subject, we shall always prefer the merit of sound and acknowledged opinions, to the poor praise of originality. And if it should appear to some, that we have been harsh in our strictures upon the prevailing system of the day, we may hope for pardon from every one who wishes to see the character of our architecture elevated, and its professors raised from the level of mere mercenary draughtsmen, to be honored as members of an elegant and liberal profession, and taking their stand, side by side, with the highest artists of the country. So long, however, as the present system of building continues to be followed, there is little hope of so desirable a consummation. But when an architect shall arise, gifted with a real love for his art, and with a true perception of whatever in it is beautiful and noble, — who shall add to the advantages of thorough education the

sound and delicate sense of propriety that is only to be acquired from habits of careful observation, — with too much regard for the excellences of classic art to feel any wish to degrade them, and too just an appreciation of what is suited to the uses of his own time to leave it any longer in total neglect, — we may begin to cherish a hope for the revival of a true taste in the community, and may look forward with an increased confidence to a brighter period in the history of *American Architecture*.

- ART. VII. — 1. *The Bondmaid*, by FREDRIKA BREMER. Translated from the Swedish, by M. L. PUTNAM. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 16mo. pp. 112.
2. *New Sketches of Every-day Life : A Diary* ; together with *Strife and Peace*. By FREDRIKA BREMER. Translated by MARY HOWITT. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1844. Price One Shilling.
3. *Strife and Peace, or Scenes in Norway*. By FREDRIKA BREMER. Translated from the Swedish. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1843.

EVER since, in our childhood, we caught some faint echoes of those wild sagas, which seemed to clang with the thunders of Thor's hammer, or of the scarcely less terrible swords of the Berserkirs ; since we heard in fancy the prow of the Vikings grating upon the strands of Western and Southern Europe, from Britain to Byzantium, or ploughing through the hitherto untracked waters of our own Massachusetts Bay to the forest-crowned shores of Vinland ; since our young hearts throbbed exultingly over the story of the exploits of the heroic and wise Gustavus Wasa ; since we hung with breathless delight over the narrative of the achievements of that Great Captain, " the lion of the North," made yet more dear to us as the companion in arms of the stalwart Dalgetty ; or followed with admiring interest the bloody footsteps of Charles the Twelfth, in whom the classic marauder and the Viking seem to have mingled to produce a rarer and more murderous madman, — we have felt a kind of vague awe of that mysterious Scandinavia, to which we

can yet trace back much of the spirit, and many of the characteristics, of the race to which we belong. Not less deserving the praise of boldness, and hardly more certain of reaching a happy haven, were the adventurous sailors of the *Mayflower*, than was Bjärne himself; and where can we find so meet a compeer for the Viking as the New England skipper, the flapping of whose sail breaks the silence of the most remote and sequestered inlets of every sea, hitherto the haunt only of the penguin and the seal, or of tribes hardly more human than they, — and who makes war upon the natives with his civilized equivalents for the sword and spear, an intelligence and shrewdness so remarkable as to have become proverbial, and which other nations of more sluggish wits have had the defensive sagacity to turn into a reproach? Nay, it asks a stouter and more self-sustained heart, to burst through the silent gates of unknown seas, as the New England mariner has often done, and, with a handful of comrades, to cope with cold and hunger, or, more than all, with that shapeless and mysterious doubt which broods gloomily over those moaning waters, than to descend, as did the Vikings of old, upon the green shores of England or France, secure, at least, that Saga would chant their deeds in all high festivals and in the van of battle for evermore, and seeing already the white arms of the Valkyrior beckoning them to the halls of Odin. New England, too, is not without her sagas. She has carved them in gigantic runes over the face of her whole territory, — in rail-roads, canals, factories, and gigantic expedients for comfort, commerce, and education, to have accomplished the hundredth part of which, in a ruder age, would have been “captain jewels in the carcanet” of some Odin’s fame. The same niggardly soil, inhospitable climate, and energy of character, which drove forth the old Norsemen to seek for happier seats; the same courage and constancy, which won them a rude welcome in every clime, and compelled fortune everywhere to open her arms to them, — have not these, producing results modified only by the progress of events, made the Yankee accent a familiar sound over the whole globe? Have they not led to the pursuit of the seals and whales, alike of arctic and antarctic seas, of the bisons of the prairie, and the wild cattle of California and Brazil? Have they not given a Yankee ship-builder to the Ottoman, a Yankee engineer to the Czar,

a Yankee premier to the Affghaun, a Yankee innkeeper to the great Desert, and, lastly, have they not turned the stubbornness of our soil, and the coldness of our winter, into articles of export? What exploits of the Berserkirs would, at first sight, seem more mad than the enterprises which Massachusetts alone has begun and carried on, through trial and danger, to success and fortune? Were the three dints of Thor's hammer deeper than those made in cliffs and mountain ranges, to admit that huge iron clasp, forged to unite the great West with the Atlantic? To us, the name of Yankee, nickname though it be, is associated with so much of energy, courage, independence, intelligence, and moral genius, as to make it not less poetical than that of Viking, and far more sublime and more worthy of reverence.

But it is not only from the resemblances, which fancy may trace, between the Scandinavian character and that of New England, that the countries of the North are interesting to us. Beside those yellow-haired warriors, whom the North poured from her frozen loins to invigorate again, with a mixture of sturdier blood and more hardy virtues, the races of the South, rendered effeminate by long years of slavery, and by rude mimicry of the luxurious vices of their conquerors, more brutalizing even than those vices themselves; beside having given birth, in more recent times, to a race of kings illustrious, it is true, for pagan virtues rather than for those of the faith they professed, but still illustrious according to the judgment of the age in which they lived, and certainly remarkable for genius, an accomplishment which seems to have been wholly forgotten in the outfit of most kingly races; beside these tokens of more ephemeral greatness, for such all greatness must be, which is not founded on the advancement of humanity, she has also added not a few great names to the wider and more lasting history of the world. The eternal stars, the moon, nay, the all-pervading presence of light itself, will preserve for ever inviolate the memory of the name and the discoveries of Tycho Brahe. The hardly less beautiful, and, if rightly looked at, not less sublime, constellations of the meadow, the upland, and the wood, entwine the thought of Linnæus with the most delightful memories of childhood, and with all the sweetest and purest enjoyments of spring, summer, and autumn. A large

sect * revere the name of Emanuel Swedenborg as that of an inspired teacher, and of those who deny his claims as an interpreter of revelation, some admire him as a philosopher, and some as a poet, the more sublime Dante of the North. Thorwaldsen has added lustre to the annals of modern sculpture. Tegnér has given us one more name to add to the glorious roll of national poets. So delicate and gentle a blossoming we should hardly have looked for from that rugged stock ; but nature has given us a parallel in our native cactus, which crowns a succession of rough and prickly shoots with a flower of the rarest and most delicate perfection. May we not hope for buds and blossoms of equal hue and fragrance from our own branch of this sturdy Northern stem ?

From reading the works of Miss Bremer, we get an idea of the present Swedish character, in its general features, as not unlike that of the New England people. The customs and superstitions of the rustic population differ, indeed, in detail, but we find many points of resemblance in the outline. Susanna would have found herself quite at home in a Massachusetts farmhouse. What glimpses we obtain of the country life there seem so sunny and joyous, that we are quite persuaded, that the Swedish peasant is the happiest creature on earth, till we read of some other peasant and find him represented as equally happy, and at last discover, that tourists in search of the picturesque, and novelists when they inspire the pastoral pipe, have established happiness as a necessary coexistent with what is picturesque in the condition of peasantry everywhere. Red breeches and banditti hats, or no breeches and hats at all are, to these ladies and gentlemen, sufficient testimonials of prosperity ; and a shepherdess of the Tyrol furnishes them with tangible proof of the unimpaired existence of Arcadia. They look upon men as figures disposed with ornamental propriety along the route they travel ; and the comparative happiness of Swede, German, or Albanian is only distinguished by the relative brightness of the colors they wear. But our more practical minds demand, as proofs of the happiness of races, something more than the mere fact that they are picturesque. A nearer and closer examination of Sweden will reveal to

* Among whom, from reading her "Morning Watches," we should be inclined to class Miss Bremer.

us much misery and consequent crime beneath this seemingly gay surface.

If we may trust statistical returns, (which are often, in fact, only works of fiction written in numerals,) the proportion of convictions for crime to the number of inhabitants is much larger in Sweden than in England or even Ireland; and Stockholm shows a darker catalogue in this regard than London. Indeed, the amount of vice in the Swedish capital is almost incredible, even to those conversant with the morals of seaport towns. In the country, the state of things is hardly better, and the *wander-jähre*, prescribed by law to all trades, which have been made poetical by Goethe, and which we were wont to consider as the beautiful relic of a more romantic age, are considered by a highly intelligent and observing traveller, Mr. Laing, as very injurious to the morals of the artisan classes, and destructive of those habits of thrift and industry so essential to their comfort and wellbeing in all countries. That vice and unthrift are universal is by no means to be taken for granted from this statement.* Indeed, this would be impossible in any country to which the divine teachings of Christ had been communicated, and where a large body of clergy, generally faithful and zealous, and, in many cases, eminent for piety and learning, kept the memory of the spirit alive among those whose callings and employments would be likely to make them forget that spirit was not only as real a fact as matter, but also a much more important one. The parishes are too large, perhaps, to admit of much personal intercourse between the clergy and their people. In some of them, those who live upon the borders ride seventy miles to the church, generally coming only upon every third sabbath, and, before service, transact-

* Perhaps the greatest obstacle in the way of the improvement of the Swedish people is the almost universal vice of drunkenness. A friend who has travelled in Sweden informs us, that this evil was so widely spread and so little regarded, that clergymen were not infrequently seen staggering about in their canonicals! This is, no doubt, partly owing to the fact, that, the church being an Established one, the clergy are wholly independent of popular opinion. But a better state of things has already begun. Reform has already set its heel upon the head of the serpent of the distillery. We take pride in stating the fact, that it is to America that Sweden will owe her regeneration in this matter. Mr. Baird, the agent of the American Temperance Union, first opened the eyes of the Swedes to this national vice, and it was in consequence of his exertions, that the first Temperance Society was established in Sweden. Men have won immortality for far less worthy deeds than this.

ing any little business they may have with their neighbours, if they may be so called. But the good which results from this public acknowledgment of the presence of God in the world, and the weekly gathering together of the people, though it may be sneered at as a mere form by those who take a wholly superficial view of the matter, can be better understood by a student of human nature, than proved by tables of statistics.

The rather ambiguous praise of being "the French of the North" was won by the Swedes only at the expense of nearly all that was manliest and noblest in the national character. After all, the imitation was but a clumsy one. It was the *pirouetting* of a bear. It was Orson in a powdered *toupée* and laced coat. The elegance, the *savoir faire*, the taste and science of debauchery, were confined to the privileged class; but the lower orders were infected, and imitated, as far as their means would allow, the vices of the nobles. The disease thus engendered has been transmitted from generation to generation, and there is still a scrofulous taint in the constitution of the people. But the constitution is a sound one, and will, in time, throw off all its impurities. The great want at present in Sweden is that of a powerful middle class, whose intelligence and independence would prevent their catching the vices and follies of those above them, and, at the same time, would serve as a conductor of their education and refinement to the great mass of the people. Though such a class is growing up in Sweden, the ridiculous system of titles and its influences, stands in the way of their usefulness, by teaching them to depend for respect and power rather on the shadow than the substance. And the restrictions on all branches of industry are an insuperable bar to the rapid increase of such a class. The policy of Sweden with regard to all branches of industry is the same as that of England was before the reign of James the First. The very virtues of the Wasa race of kings, who, in general, aimed to be the fathers of their people, and who protected the lower orders from the predacious instincts of the higher, in truth prevented the growth of the middle class. The best institutions of a people grow out of its necessities. The inability, or neglect, of the sovereign to check the tyranny of the nobles, sharpened the instincts and foresight of the oppressed, and built up the republics of Italy and the free cities of Ger-

many, and give birth to the power of the Commons. But thanks to the strong sense of one of their kings, who made the ability to read a necessary qualification for a legal marriage, the Swedish people have already in themselves the seeds of moral regeneration, which, though now too deeply buried for germination, need only a breaking of the soil to shoot up and reproduce the long extinct flower of the true national character. The far happier social state of Norway is to be attributed only to her more popular form of government. With a language uniting the simple construction of the English with the richness, melody, and facility of forming compounds of the German, with a climate which creates that hardiness of frame the necessary foundation for hardiness of spirit, with a mass of traditionary lore more wild, beautiful, sublime, and, at the same time, more familiar to the general mind, than that of any other nation, Sweden will yet produce a literature of the highest order. Sagas are the natural growth of those solemn pine forests. There, in those vast silences, every event deepens into a legend or a poem. Already have some of the descendants of those old Vikings begun to assert the purity of their lineage by the same courage, the same adventurousness, the same trumpet-voice, which pervades the offspring of their Muse, — the fierce blood of Odin tempered and beautifully softened by intermixture with the womanly gentleness of graceful Balldur.

If we needed any further proof, that a popular aristocracy, if we may give such a name to the middle class, is almost wholly wanting in Sweden, we might find it in the works of the author under review. Had Miss Bremer been born in England, we doubt not that her nature would have led her to choose her characters chiefly from this class, who, by their industry, energy, and strong sense, have there raised the Saxon race again to a level with its Norman conquerors, if they have not given it even a preponderating weight. As it is, the sympathies of education and refinement have forced her to select from the highest order of her countrymen. Even where the manners are essentially those of the middle ranks of life, we must remember that the characters are nearly all chosen from the upper classes. Where the whole population is divided so strictly into two classes, where the dividing line is so absolute and well defined, and the mass of the people are in a state scarcely better than degraded, since it is one from

which there is but a bare possibility of rising, it is not to be wondered at, that we look in vain through Miss Bremer's works for delineations of the nobility of humble life.

The novel of society must necessarily be confined within a conventional horizon, the boundaries of which are modified by the state of things in the country where it is produced, and, in judging it, the jury should be empanelled from the country where the *venue* is laid. That only necessity has stunted Miss Bremer in the choice of her characters is plain enough from the fact, that the interest always springs from the character itself, and not from any accidents of birth or station. Unless Bruno and St. Orme may be taken as exceptions, she gives us no gentlemen who possess a tragic interest merely from the fact that they have deep, dark eyes and noble foreheads, surmounted by curls of glossy blackness, and who have a purulent loquacity on the subject of destiny and kindred matters. We have no maidens whom some knavish guardian has dispossessed of immense fortunes, to show us how much better off they are without them, but which they nevertheless miraculously recover. There is no smell of burnt cork and *rouge*, no melodramatic suggestion of buskined tyrants, oppressed maidens with unmanageable trains of white satin, and impregnable castles an inch thick, which excited ideas of the horrible and the marvellous in our childish imaginations. Hers are all tales of the present day. The purple, hazy distance of antiquity is not needed to give her characters their proper keeping in the mind's eye of the reader. Her novels show the healthier tone which is beginning to pervade the light literature of the day. The stories of feudal times, which made so many unhappy boys above their business, and in which all the male personages, except the king and the court fool, were made knights of, and, in virtue of their rank, could only begin a sentence with "By my halidome!" and end it by glancing fiercely at some rival Sir Gaston or Sir Everard, and touching significantly the hilts of their swords, — are now at their last gasp. From heroes such as these, the transition was easy and natural to pirates, knights of the post, painted savages, pickpockets, and other gentlemen of the same class, whose romantic lives stayed for awhile the appetite of those who supped on horrors at the cheap ordinary of the circulating library. Thence they have degenerated into the hardly respectable purlieus of

what is called "Cheap Literature," where the chivalric romance — the novel of costume — still wields a tottering sceptre over the taproom and the eating cellar. Its farthing candle has wellnigh gone out. Whether any potent spirit will arise, with "that Promethean touch which can its light relume," we take not upon ourselves to say. From what lower deep of inanity or ruffianism a hero may be fished up to supply this *hiatus* in the "Knowledge for the People," it were hard to imagine. The day of this kind of chivalry is over, and we are right glad of it. That our youth should grow up with the idea, that romance dwelt only in castles and courts, was a pitiful reflection. The unheroic taste of modern times rewards deeds, which would erst have claimed the golden spurs, with the penitentiary or the gallows. Even in Fielding's time, Jonathan Wild reduced himself to an ignominious death solely, if we may credit his admiring biographer, by his habit of contemplating objects in too classical and heroic a light. Chivalry is morally defunct. All civilized nations have done with it, and only the flashing of bowie-knives and pistols in certain portions of our territory gives token of its existence anywhere.

The tendency of the later school of novelists shows a vast change in the spirit and manners of literature. The novel has become an essay on morals, on political economy, on the condition of women, on the vices and defects of social life. Sentimentalism has gone very much out of fashion. Its tears began to savor too much of that vegetable which the Egyptians, perhaps with some mystic allusion to its pathetic properties, revered as divine. The piteous ravings of natures too noble to be understood, against the unfeeling common sense of the world, the natural and proper admiration of young ladies for rocks, and moonlight, and ruined abbeys, — all these have sought sanctuary in the parlours and chambers of the boarding-school. The revolution has been a healthy, and, let us hope, a thorough one. The sentimental era naturally resulted from the prevalence of the benumbing, cheerless, *soup-maigre*, French philosophy in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The recoil was wild and fearful. It was the convulsive struggle of the spirit to get rid of the French strait-jacket. Once free, it danced, it sang, it wept, it raved. No extravagance was too wild for it to prove its new-found freedom by. From

the icy regions of doubt and unbelief, it turned to find delight in the weakest superstition. Mrs. Radcliffe and Monk Lewis sent the whole reading world trembling to its bed, where it lay sleepless and afraid to blow its candle out. This was bad enough, no doubt ; but any thing rather than Voltaire's water-gruel. There was, at least, one great step gained in the acknowledgment of the existence of such a natural phenomenon as the human heart. Now, humanity and Benthamism have become *de haut ton*, and have driven Shakspeare and the musical glasses out of fashionable conversation. Even the annuals, the last authorized asylum for elegant insipidity, where Lady Charlottes and Lords Fitz-everything, like attenuated French emigrants, still bandy the small-talk of the *ancien régime*, — even these have become half conscious of the change in affairs, and begin to lisp timidly about new poor-laws and charitable soup.

The modern novel, even in France, to a great extent, has become the vehicle of a moral. Novels are now mostly lay-sermons, delivered in the form of dialogue, the edge of the cup being sweetened with a plot. They lecture where they once only amused. But while the design of the novel has been changed for the better, we do not think, that the execution has equally improved. An ordinary novelist of the present day writes, it is true, with an ease and brilliancy of style, that would have won a ten years' immortality a century ago. Novels and reviews, and the necessity of rapid writing which they have induced, while they have added to the vivacity, the piquancy, and the pertness of our language, have robbed it of much of its soberness, its dignity, and its weighty richness. We have herds of ready writers, but they are mostly of an ephemeral character. We are not now often reminded of the condensed beauty and sedate grace of Bacon, the massive eloquence of Milton, the profound gravity of Browne, or the golden luxuriance of our English Chrysostom, Taylor. The epigrammatic style — a style carried to perfection by the more brilliant French novelists of the present day — is as prevalent in prose now as it was in verse in the time of Pope. We have gained in sparkle while we have lost in depth. The modern style of writing is often clear only because it is shallow. We see the bottom easily, but the shining pebbles and yellow sand hardly supply the want of those pearls, which lie only beneath

deeper and more silent waters, and which we must dive in order to bring up. The younger D'Israeli has a theory, (which Neal broached some twenty years before him,) that prose is the only natural vehicle for thought. We shall not here attempt to prove the contrary of this proposition, though we think it would be no very hard task. We have only to hope, that, if verse, which is necessarily more laborious, and which, while it makes our mother tongue "search her coffers" more narrowly, is also more compact and arch-like, is to be superseded by prose, the latter will be of a more grave and sinewy strain than that with which the predominance of novel writing has infected us. We are tired of its wit, its glitter, and its pretty, *dilettante* philosophizing. To play in a masterly fashion on the octave flute may be a worthy attainment. It is pleasant to hear now and then its lively, chirping, grasshopper notes. But a whole orchestra of them would be intolerable. They would seem to send burning sparks into the chambers of our ears, and we should long for the cool refreshment of the heavier and deeper instruments.

We have been enticed into these rather desultory remarks by the reflections naturally suggested by looking at Miss Bremer as an example of that change for the better, which has already begun to show itself in the novels of the day, and which is making silent but perceptible progress in other branches of literature. The novel has already become something more than a picture of manners, and it will not be long before the historian will cease to pile together a dry heap of facts, or to compose a panegyric on some favorite national cutthroat, and will write rather a history of men, looking at events from the higher level of a common humanity, and weighing the worth and nobleness of deeds by their tendency to advance and civilize mankind.

We would not have our remarks upon modern prose style considered as applying particularly to Miss Bremer. Though sometimes a little ambitious, sometimes deficient in those nicer delicacies of taste which distinguish her sex, often confused in her metaphors, and occasionally too willing to say a profound thing to be able to do so, she generally writes in a sweet, domestic, fireside style of great simplicity, and which gives our hearts the most convincing proof of her being a woman of genius, by leaving them happier and kinder than

she found them. In one respect, we think her superior to most of the contemporary novelists, her characters being universal, and not national. Whatever Swedish peculiarity there may be in their manners, there is none in their natures. They are not simply Swedes and Norwegians, but men and women. We recognize them, after a moment's thought, as old acquaintances. They are as much at home in Boston as in Stockholm. Her children, too, and especially her little girls, are hitherto unequalled. In spite of the obstinate assertion of spinsterhood in the prefix to her name, we can hardly help believing that she has a nursery of her own. We know the particular footsteps of each of the little ones, as they hop about overhead. We hear familiar voices from the high chairs at the breakfast-table. We know by rote the exact weight of every one of their heads, and, when we hear a thump upon the staircase or the floor, we are sure beforehand whose voice will be raised to expostulate against destiny and the laws of gravitation. When they ask questions, we remember with a thrill the unanswerable philosophical theories and inextricable syllogisms, that have been propounded to us by the unbreeched Newtons and Leibnitzes of the nursery. While they are in the parlour, we shudder for the vases and the teapots. While they are out of it, we expect to hear crashes from the china-closet, or cries for assistance from *impromptu* difficulties, to get into which would seem to have demanded a week's forethought. When they levy a tribute of stories, we are reminded how often our stock of invention, and fairy-lore, and improvised doggerel, has been pumped dry by the little besieging army that scaled our knees. And Petrea's nose! It is a character by itself, — a more distinct one than the indefatigable Mr. James has been able to *souvenir*, as the musicians say, out of Scott. Ovid's nose, or Herrick's, was not more individual. It takes rank without question with Bardolph's and Slawkenbergius's, and that false nose, so real in its unreality, of Sampson Carasco's squire.

But it is not merely as a painter of character, though she does almost always give us the fresh flowers, and not a mere *hortus siccus*, with designating labels, that Miss Bremer claims our regard. In all her works, there is something to make us better. To read them brings us out of the jostling world, and seems gently to lead us back again to the dear

circle round the hearth of home ; a circle the memory of which, be it bright or gloomy, accompanies the heart through life like a moving horizon, where the clouds still hang at a distance, as if they were made only to be turned into golden towers and pinnacles by the sun, and which keeps alive in us the purest and freshest of our inspirations, the yet dewy, half-opened blossoms of hope and morning. If dear Sancho Panza blessed the man who invented sleep, so would we, with our whole hearts, bless those who invent thoughts and images for us, that make us children again, and set us chasing butterflies and binding weed nosegays again, in those old meadows, or listening to the history and the legend around the old woodfire, that flickered so pleasantly on the dear faces, which throng about us once more, as ruddy and as free from wrinkles, as they were then. And therefore bless Fredrika Bremer ! And who more richly has earned a blessing, than she who can make bloom again those wilted roses of our spring, — who can make us feel that we have yet lost nothing, if we have not lost the angelic capability of being made children again ? Those writers who teach us to trust in the buckler of the impenetrable sneer, may, for a while, win the praise of strength from our unsteady and anchorless minds ; but in our time of trial, we learn that their strength is but weakness, and that they only are truly mighty who give us back our homely faith.

With “ The Bondmaid ” begins our first knowledge of Miss Bremer as a poet. Though written in prose, it is a poem in the true meaning of that word. The plot of this little drama is very simple. The scene is laid in pagan times. Kumba and Feina are two bond-maidens of the Princess Frid, who is betrothed to King Dag, now absent on some warlike expedition. The spirit of Kumba is above her lot. She feels continually the want of some purer and more comprehensive dispensation than that of Walhalla, which offers nothing to the slave but an eternity of bondage, and confines its rewards to the highborn and the warrior. The kindness of her mistress is more galling to her than harshness would be, for she cannot but feel, that it is near akin to the kindness which would be shown to a favorite dog, or to any thing else which claimed care by being utterly dependent. Her chain is invisible, but only the more painful, being fastened around her spirit, and it weighs the more heavily from the very roses

with which it is hidden. Even her unwilling belief in the religion of her fathers makes her the more eager to throw off its oppressive effect. That she was the slave of a princess, which would have made a less thoughtful and climbing nature happy, is to her only a greater misery. Sadly and truly she exclaims to Feima,

“Why must a slave dwell in a king’s palace, and learn to compare herself with the noble? Why must she learn to love the great, the beautiful, when her portion is with deformity and meanness? Why must she gain knowledge which must only teach her to despair?”—pp. 14.

Another element in Kumba’s unhappiness is, that she also loves King Dag. The character of Feima is a complete foil to that of Kumba. Cheerful and loving, she bears through life that surest divining-rod for the most hidden springs of happiness — content. She walks attended by a sunshine of her own, which seems to shield her from sympathy with anything but the sunshine of others. No two characters could be more opposed; yet we know not which is sadder, — the contentment, or the pining anguish, of a slave. Frid is gentle and kind; but it is the easy gentleness and kindness of a prosperous heart, and she is too happy in her station and her love, to have her spirit ever darkened by the shadow of others’ sorrows. The world comes rightly to her, and she dreams not that it can come otherwise to any. She knows that no change can make *her* happier, and so it never occurs to her, that there may be some to whom a change would be from death to life. But she is naturally of a beautiful nature, and only needs what all need, the gentle ministry of sorrow, to raise her soul from negative to positive beauty.

Kumba, wrought upon by her love, her ambition, and a deep feeling of wrong, determines to murder Frid, and to this end obtains a poison from the witch Gringerda, and administers it. Immediately after, she repents. But it is too late. Frid dies, just as the white sail of her betrothed comes in sight. The great interest of the drama arises from the prefigurement of Christianity in the longing soul of Kumba. To us, there is a great deal of tragic pathos in it. The whole story is pagan, yet in the forgiving spirit of Frid, the repentance of Kumba, and the humble content of Feima, we find the eternal truths of Christianity foreshadowed in the eternal wants of the human soul. Nor are the spirits, that

haunt us here with their promptings of good and evil, wanting. There are choruses of spirits of light and darkness, whose voices are heard now and then through the course of the story, to remind us of the wondrous spirit-land on whose borders we stand, and the skirts only of whose brightness we are allowed to behold.

Willingly would we make many extracts from this beautiful volume; but so many passages are favorites with us, that it is hard to choose. We can find room for only one of the last scenes.

"Frid rests, half reclining, upon a magnificent couch. Kumba stands at her feet and observes her. The sun is going down."

"FRID. Soon, soon will all be past. Soon will the light of a new world surround me. For the last time I bow my head before thee, thou glorious earthly sun! Thanks that thy rays yet once would warm my bosom! thanks for thy last caress! My life's sun too goes down; but the sweet calm of evening fills my heart; I feel that it is beautiful to die.

"Ah, even in death my dim eye seeks the sea, and watches for his sail, and calls him home. But he shall come and find his bride no more. — She has gone forth, but only, oh beloved! that she may follow thee, may serve thee better.

"KUMBA. (*aside.*) The pangs that rend me pass the pangs of death.

"FRID. My soul is reconciled to death. Past is all murmur, all complaint. Mine eye is dim, but all is bright within me. — Death cannot part the loving. — Love is deathless. See! The bright arches of the heavenly bridge! The waves of the celestial waters play about it. Welcome, thou radiant vision! Thou pointest out the path that I shall tread. Soon shall I come! All-Father! I am ready. I am at peace with heaven, at peace with earth.

"KUMBA, (*aside.*) How her light shines forth! How my night deepens! I no longer hate her. My hatred aims its shaft at my own breast.

"FRID. Kumba, my faithful Kumba! Thanks for the love that thou hast ever borne me! Wear thou this gem in memory of me. Be thou free, Kumba, be thou rich and happy.

"KUMBA. Princess, but one thing do I ask of thee.

"FRID. And what?

"KUMBA. Thy hate! — Thou diest by my hand; by poison that thy slave prepared for thee. Know that she hated thee; that like a snake she stung thee to the heart, and from thy pains drew pleasure.

"FRID. All-righteous gods! — Thou, Kumba! Thou didst hate me! Wherefore?

"KUMBA. For thy good fortune; — for thy beauty's sake; — because of thy betrothal with King Dag, whom I too dared to love! — because the gods' injustice gave thee all, and gave me nothing; — because of the soul-sickness that envy and despair had wrought in me. For these I hated thee! hated, and am avenged.

"FRID. Oh, Kumba, thou couldst feel thus to me, when I so loved thee and so trusted thee!

"KUMBA. I have betrayed thee. I have murdered thee. Hate me, then, loathe me!

"FRID. Thy hand has given me death. A higher hand has granted deathless life. For my own fate I grieve not! but for thee, unhappy one! my soul is sorrowful. Ere I go hence, take my forgiveness, Kumba!

"KUMBA. Canst thou forgive me?

"FRID. Oh, Kumba, hate no more, so shall thy soul have peace. — Thou hast not wrought me so much evil, Kumba. — Thy soul was sick. — I understand it now. Forgive me that I was so happy near thee, and did not mark thy suffering! Look not so wildly on me. Give me thy hand. Thou wast unhappy, Kumba; this was thy crime. —

"KUMBA (*aside*). Can such goodness be? such boundless love? My heart will break!

"FRID. Thy lips move strangely, but I hear no sound. — Dost thou remember when thou camest to me, a suffering, ill-used child? These hands did heal thy wounds, these eyes wept over thee. I loved thee from that hour. — And now my soul cannot go hence in peace, if thou do hate me. Some evil spell has bound thy heart, my child! thou couldst not thus have hardened it against me. Come nearer, Kumba, yet once would I weep over thee!

"KUMBA. Thou hast prevailed! — Behold me at thy feet! — Hear my last prayer!

"FRID. My Kumba, speak!

"KUMBA. Let thy slave die with thee! — Let the same fire from which thy soul shall rise, release my guilty spirit. I would yet serve thee in the land of shades.

"FRID. Follow me then in death. The God of gods will then appoint thy lot. It may be, in the after-life, princess and slave shall be but empty names. — Come, join thy soul with mine. Never hast thou been nearer to me. — Together will we die; — both shall watch over him whom both have loved.

"KUMBA. These tears! Oh rapture! Let me bathe thy hand with them.

"FRID. Yes, bathe my hand with them! They warm my heart. The sea! the sea! Look to the sea!

"KUMBA. Oh gods! he comes!

"FRID. He comes! I thought it was the gleam of his white banner; — but my sight fails. — He comes!

"KUMBA. Thou wilt not see him. Thou diest. Oh thou must hate me!

"FRID. No, I pardon thee. Do thou forgive thyself!

"KUMBA. Never! thou diest!

"FRID (*her arms outstretched towards the sea*). I go, I go, but to a brighter world; there, oh my Dag! to meet thee once again! (*Dies.*)

"KUMBA. Dead? Yes, all is past. Now will I also die! Avenging deities, I wait my doom! She has forgiven, but can ye forgive? To you I render up my guilty spirit: Oh mighty Thor, accept the sacrifice! Though thy wild winds shall urge my tortured spirit, unresting round the confines of the earth, in silence shall it bear; the doom is just. But, god of storms! thine empire hath an end. The day will come, when to a mightier King thou shalt resign thy power. — Will HE have pity? — Shall not the humble, the repentant soul, at length find rest upon some quiet shore? (*Sinks at the feet of Frid.*)" — pp. 99–104.

It remains only to speak of the translation. It is, we think, excellent. The language is chaste, flowing, and melodious, and, in the higher passages, we observe that it rises into blank verse, though printed as prose. It has the great merit of appearing like an original work, while, at the same time, it is faithful to the original. In the lyrical passages, the translator has taken some liberties, but not without reason. In the original, the metre is of a crabbed kind, utterly incapable of being reproduced in English; or, if not incapable of reproduction, it would appear only as a curiosity in our language. As these passages now stand, they are beautiful poems, perhaps due rather more to the translator than to Miss Bremer, yet retaining all the spirit and meaning of the verses on which they are founded.

We come now to the other works of Miss Bremer, the names of which we have put at the head of this article. It is not necessary to enter into a critical examination of them at this time. What we have already said of Miss Bremer*

* *N. A. Review*, LVI. p. 497, and LVII. p. 123.

will apply equally to all her tales. These have the same characteristic excellences and the same defects. Our chief concern is with a remarkable manifesto, which Mrs. Howitt has seen fit to prefix to her translation of the "Diary" and "Strife and Peace," and which seems rather sharply to challenge a strict criticism of her general abilities and qualifications as a translator. Though we had always thought, that Miss Bremer had hardly been put in a just light before her English readers, yet, regarding Mrs. Howitt's translations only as modest and well-meaning endeavours, we could not find it in our hearts to subject them to so thorough an analysis as they deserved. We were grateful to her, and were, perhaps, too careful not to incur the proverbial reproach of looking the gift-horse narrowly in the mouth. But now, we seem only to comply with her own wishes, in applying proper tests to ascertain how much she has debased the pure metal of Miss Bremer, in the process of recoinng it for English circulation.

Some American translations of Miss Bremer's works having been reprinted in London, Mrs. Howitt saw fit to publish a statement of her claims and grievances, which, we must say, is the most coarse, ill-natured, unjust, and unwomanly production that we have ever read. Such a document, emanating from a female member of the Society of Friends, is certainly a literary curiosity. With the English publisher, Mr. William Smith, who, to borrow Mrs. Howitt's choice phraseology, "pokes himself in just before her on the literary causeway," and who has discovered a simple method of "extracting public good" by the hitherto untried expedient of "treading on her toes," we have nothing to do. Our own duty is to expose the true character of Mrs. Howitt's allegations against the American translators, and her own unfitness for the task which she claims to monopolize. To find fault with us, first for our unhappy national peculiarity of appropriating and reprinting the labors of our English brethren, and then for endeavouring to avoid that error by supplying our home market with home productions, seems to be, as Mrs. Howitt elegantly remarks, "coming it too strong over us."* Yet this is the erratic line of argument that she has pursued. She denies the right of Americans to meddle

* *Strife and Peace*, Harpers' reprint, p. 95.

with Miss Bremer at all. We shall not plead the Declaration of Independence in bar to this allegation, but shall content ourselves with the more satisfactory process of showing, that the American versions are better than her own. Meantime, we would suggest, with all due deference, that if we are debarred from any use of the original Swedish, some of our fellow-citizens might be usefully employed in translating some parts of Mrs. Howitt's translations, and reducing them to that provincial form of English which is understood on this side of the Atlantic. At present, through the dim medium of Mrs. Howitt, Miss Bremer seems to be in the predicament of the unhappy but unconscious Bottom, when his transformation made him a terror to his friends, and the horror-stricken Quince exclaimed, "Bless thee, Bottom, bless thee ! *thou art translated !*"

The English publisher of the American versions has taken a part of the preface to the "President's Daughters," and prefixed it as an advertisement to his whole series, beginning with "Strife and Peace"; and on this fact Mrs. Howitt has founded an ingenious superstructure of argument and abuse. Had she seized upon this circumstance merely as a weapon in her attack upon her English rival, it would have been fair enough; but before using it as an argument to support an accusation of wilful falsehood against the American translator, she should have made herself perfectly assured of its truth.* Her charges against the American translations may be briefly summed up as follows: That they are translated from the German; that they are very inaccurate; and that they abound in omissions and "Yankee slang." The "President's Daughters," the only one of the American versions which claims to be corrected by the Swedish, was so corrected, and had the benefit of a revision, we are informed, by a distinguished scholar in this neighbourhood, who has had some opportunities of studying the English language under most favorable circumstances in its native country, — opportunities which Mrs. Howitt, if she ever enjoyed them, has most lamentably neglected to profit by.

As Mrs. Howitt's indignation is chiefly directed against

* Her neglect has the appearance of being a wilful oversight, as we happen to know, that the Boston publisher had taken pains to forward all the American translations to Mrs. Howitt, some time before they were republished in London.

the American translation of "Strife and Peace," which happened more immediately to interfere with her "speculation," we shall dwell mostly upon that, in instituting a comparison between the American versions and her own. This is the fairer course, because "Strife and Peace" is the last of her translations, and may, therefore, be supposed to have had the advantage of her increased experience and greater familiarity with the language of the original, and because we have her own authority for regarding it as "the most eloquent and beautiful of all Miss Bremer's writings." Moreover, though the three American translations bear the strongest internal evidence of being, as they were, the work of different hands, Mrs. Howitt has conveniently assumed, that they are the productions of the same person, in order, with the greater show of fairness, to lay at the door of one the carefully gleaned errors and imperfections of the whole series.

Mrs. Howitt's first charge is, that all the American translations are made from the German, and that "the blunders and misconceptions of the German translator, often very ludicrous, are most regularly and carefully copied." It is true, that she somewhat blunts the force of this accusation, as far as "Strife and Peace" is concerned, by informing us, on the very next page, that the German translation of it "*is perfect.*" But such little eccentricities as these are common in her hysteric preface. We cheerfully grant her the distinction she seems to claim, and state here, once for all, that though she has sometimes copied the blunders of the German translator, yet she has oftener the merit of making entirely original, and far more startling, mistakes of her own.* Let us enter more into particulars.

It will not be difficult to prove, that Mrs. Howitt makes all her own translations chiefly from the German, and that, if she understands Swedish at all, her knowledge of it must be limited and superficial. We select some examples of wrong translation from the first few pages of her version of "Strife

* It has been stated, on highly respectable authority, that the words, "translated from the Swedish," were inserted in the title-page of "Strife and Peace," by the publisher, without the knowledge, and against the expressed wish, of the translator. This was done, probably, to indicate its origin, as the same words were put by the same publisher upon the title-page of his reprint of Mrs. Howitt's translation of "The Neighbours," which was evidently made from the German.

and Peace." In the very first page, (89, of Harpers' reprint), there are four blunders. *Fjellstuga*, (mountain-house,) is translated "rock-house." *Rykende*, (reeking, smoking,) she has changed to "rushing." She has here been misled by the German translation, where it is rendered "*rauschende*," which she mistook, probably, for "*rauschende*." Her acquaintance with German is hardly superior to her knowledge of the Swedish, if we may judge by this specimen. The word *fruktansvärdt*, (fearful, fearworthy,) is metamorphosed into "fruitful." Mrs. Howitt falls into this error whenever she meets the word, and, in one instance (page 90), where it is applied to a thunderstorm, she adroitly extricates herself from a dilemma by substituting for the original substance the shadowy platitude of "the affluent pomp of the storm"! On the same page, (90, of Harpers' reprint), following a blunder in the German, she turns *Budeja* into a proper name; and, in the next line, depending on the same unsafe authority for the meaning of *Fjös jente*, she metamorphoses a hapless milkmaid into a "cowboy." On page 93, she makes Susanna "scold," although there is no such imputation on her character in the original. On page 95, she causes Harald, in criticising Susanna's beer, to pronounce upon the merits of an article before testing it. Miss Bremer had given no such privilege to her hero. On the next page (96), with equal cleverness, she transmutes a mountain path into a man, and speaks of *Maristein* (properly, *Maristien*), and "his tales of joy and sorrow." On the next page (97), we find "tell him how I love," instead of "tell him how I live." This comes with a bad grace from one who is very severe on the American translator for saying "teach me how to think," instead of "thank," an error which did not jar with the context so much as her own. On the same page, she makes a Norwegian of the olden time exhibit a tenacity of life, which casts old Parr, old Jenkins, and the Countess of Desmond, quite into the shade, by surviving his own demise. Of this remarkable man, whose name was Halgrim, we are told, that he "alone, of all the people who had died there, remained alive." What renders this display of *vivacity* the more astounding is, that it took place during a pestilence. The Cid, we know, some centuries after his death, knocked down a Jew who attempted to pull his beard, making an *extempore* convert of him to Christianity; and

the peerless Roland assisted at his own funeral solemnities in *Notre Dame*. But both of these heroes must yield the palm to our Norwegian, who not only *lived*, but married, and became a respectable citizen and householder, after his decease. Miss Bremer simply says, that he alone survived "of all the people who had *lived* there," and this quite prosaic statement is followed by the American translator.

On page 98, we have "golden *forests*," for "golden *harvests*." On page 100, "who, with his crown, had lost his balance," for "whose crown had lost its balance." Page 101, "To all those who love us," for "To all that is dear." Same page, "Yes, indeed ! yes, indeed !" for what may be freely rendered, "So much to do !" (*travelt*, oppressed with business.) Page 103, "woods," for "clouds." Page 104, "new *kinds of grass*," for "new *pastures*." Page 104, we have "agreeably to a clever hen-instinct," for "agreeably to a noble instinct of the cock," namely, that of saving for Dame Partlett any titbits he may discover. Chaucer might have set Mrs. Howitt right, Londoner though he was. In his "Nonnes Preestes Tale," he tells us how Sir Chanticleer

"flew down fro the beme,
For it was day, and eke his hennes alle ;
And with a chuk he gan hem for to calle,
For he had found a corn."

Page 106, "forborne to shed many," for "caused so few to be shed." On the 109th page, she goes to the expense of an original note, in order to treat her readers to a blunder. She tells us, that Bjärne, sailing westward from Newfoundland,* arrived in *Upper Canada* ! This being an English colony, she should have known better. Had it been in the United States, the mistake would have been more excusable, for the English geographers are so "highly ill-informed" in regard to them, that an Edinburgh Geographical Encyclopædia, of high authority, gravely informed the British public, a few years ago, that "Boston was the capital of the *State* of New England, and, till lately, of the whole United States." And this Encyclopædia was edited by Hugh Murray, F. R. S., a gentleman who probably

* Bjärne, it is supposed, landed somewhere in Massachusetts. *Vide* the *Antiquitates Americanae* of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries ; also, their report for the last year.

knows familiarly the names, situations, and political relations of all the mud villages in the interior of Africa !* To return to Mrs. Howitt ; on page 112, we have " mournfully," translated " smilingly." On page 119, again, she gives us " and even for avoiding intercourse with the world," instead of " and also for avoiding conversation with Harald." But we cannot waste any more time in tracing Mrs. Howitt through all the doublings of her erratic translation. We have only selected the most glaring mistakes out of the abundance with which her first few pages supplied us.

We will now give a few instances of Mrs. Howitt's ungrateful and unfilial treatment of her own mother-tongue. Above the petty artifices of grammar her independent nature soars superior. She seems to be of honest Jack Cade's mind, who attributed it to the Lord Say, as a chief crime, that he had " most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar school." On page 95, we have " higher than *me* !" So, in " Home," page 55, " When Eva, dear, is as old as *me*." Page 117 of " Strife and Peace," " Harald, *whom* I thought wished me well." Page 118, " the boy *for* whom thou hast *loved* and deplored," &c. " Had shook," " had woke," " different *to*," " in comparison *of* which," *passim*. How it may be in England, we do not take upon ourselves to say ; but in America, we think, to quote Mrs. Howitt's preface again, that " all well-educated persons will be careful not to introduce into their families " such singular forms of expression as these.

Of inelegant construction, the following specimens must suffice. Page 90, " On a cool September evening, strangers arrived at the Grange, which had now been long uninhabited. *It* was an elderly lady, of noble, but gloomy exterior, in deep mourning." A ship, we know, is generally spoken of as " she " ; but in the whole circle of our reading, we never knew a house to be called an " elderly lady." On page 91, Harald " expresses himself in the following manner : "

" I cannot properly describe to *you*, Alette, the impression

* We learn from the same grave authority, that the Erie Canal was " constructed to unite the waters of the Hudson with those of the *Mohawk* ! "

which she made upon me. I might describe to *you* her *tall growth*, her noble bearing, her countenance, where, spite of many wrinkles, and a pale-yellow complexion, *traces of great beauty are incontrovertible*; the lofty forehead, around which black locks sprinkled with gray, press forth from beneath her simple cap. I might tell of her deep, serious eyes, of her low and yet solemn voice; and yet *thou* couldst form to *thyself* no representation of that which makes her so uncommon."

We think Harald showed only a due appreciation of himself by telling Alette in advance, that he "could not *properly* describe" Mrs. Astrid. Page 95, "that is *coming it strong over us*." Alette, who is described as graceful and elegant, and with fascinating powers of conversation, commends her brother in this wise (page 108); "Yes, *one* may probably three times a day get angry with him, before *we* can rightly get to know him; but this is certain, that if he wishes it, *you* cannot get clear of him without loving him." Mrs. Howitt is very fond of the verb "to seem"; it is clear, that she considers nothing as really happening or being done, but only as seeming to act or to take place. Instances of this kind, where music *seems* to begin, mountains *seem* to "uplift themselves," and the like, are so common that we need give no particular references.

From the "Diary," we glean the following examples. Page 23, "Without faults Lennartson is not, *just as little as any other mortal*." Page 27, "now I had *exactly to-day* read in my newspaper." Page 32, "neither were we either invited out." On the same page, Miss Bremer, quite against her will, is made to enforce the very strange ethical doctrine, that, under certain circumstances, it is our duty to become insane. "And one should be compelled to see these from noonday till midnight; from noonday till midnight one must be polite to them; and from noonday till midnight one must amuse them. Ah! one *should go distracted!*" Well may a note of exclamation "erect itself," as Mrs. Howett would say, at the conclusion of a sentence expressing such an original doctrine. On the same page, we find, "my stepmother sate upon the sofa, and swallowed her yawns *under* the most polite gestures." Page 34, "But if it happen that one becomes *shook up*, or animated, then one can see that *it is not quite so over*." Page 39, "I have heard *that which is bad* spoken of St. Orme's affairs." Page 46,

"No way is more difficult than the way to *collect oneself out* of dissipation." This dilemma probably arises, when, as on page 56, "*one*" is "*crushed to pieces*." Page 47, "the hue of death overspread her face, *which, with a dull cry of pain*, sunk upon her breast." This "seems" to be carrying the metaphor of "a speaking face" to the verge of probability." Page 52, "That is an entirely mistaken, an entirely crazy turning of the question, an entirely insane direction. Does a young girl give herself away, or is she given away to a dolt, or a *block of wood*, or any *other beast*, then, indeed, she must drive upon a wooden road." We never heard before, that a "*block of wood*" was a species of animal. The sentence reminds us of a gentleman, who, having been seduced by a convenient rhyme into writing the following couplet,

"As I was passing by a pump,
Riding on a little jump,"

added, in a modest note, that "jump here means horse, or any other beast of burden." Page 61, "Or was it the intention of Lennartson to *hurl a lightning flash* at St. Orme, or was it the bad conscience of the latter *which made him struck*."

Mrs. Howitt begins by charging quite serious omissions upon the English reprint of the American "Strife and Peace"; but she becomes

"small by degrees, and beautifully less,"

and descends at last to the leaving out of a single word. We have the English reprint now before us, and can hardly believe the evidence of our senses, when we find that by far the greater number, and the most important, of the passages which she positively asserts are omitted, are to be found at full length in the text! We confess that we had before entertained some suspicions, that Mrs. Howitt was as faulty in her ideas of truth as of grammar. She evidently entertains some very original views upon this delicate subject. In the preface to "*The Neighbours*," she speaks of some other works of Miss Bremer, as "*ready for publication*," leading her readers to suppose, that she had already translated them; and, among them, she mentions "*The House*." When the translation of this book was published, it recovered its proper title, "*The Home*." Mrs. Howitt had trans-

lated the name from the *title-page of the German translation*, where it was called "*Das Haus*." *And this title-page must have been all that she had ever seen of a book, which, according to her account, she had already translated and made "ready for publication!"* This is a grave charge, but it is easily susceptible of proof. In Swedish, the title is simply *Hemmet*, corresponding exactly to "The Home" in English. But in German, there is no word of precisely the same signification, — a fact stated by the German translator in a prefatory note, which Mrs. Howitt might have seen, if she had turned over the title-page. Perhaps, however, she had not seen even the German translation, and took the name from Brockhaus's advertising list. After going so far as this, in order to prevent competition, it is rather singular that Mrs. Howitt should talk of the mercenary motives of American translators.

Before we quit this very painful theme, it is proper to direct the reader's attention to a few more facts, which are necessary to show the true character of Mrs. Howitt's assertions. One of her most bitter remarks is directed against the American translator of "*Strife and Peace*," for having omitted some of the mottos to the chapters, — especially, *a single line from Tegnér*. Is it possible, that Mrs. Howitt had forgotten, that, in her translation of the "*President's Daughters*," she had omitted six of the poetical quotations, and among them *no less than eighteen lines from Tegnér*? She is certainly more zealous than circumspect in her charges of omission. She knew that she was speaking to an English audience, who would not feel interest enough in the matter to examine for themselves. A single instance, selected from three enumerated in one short sentence, all equally destitute of foundation in truth, must suffice. We have rarely seen so much untruth compressed into so convenient and portable a form. She says, "page 27 (occurs) another (omission) of no less than nine lines descriptive of the wild Halling dance." On page 27 of Smith's reprint, (the edition referred to by Mrs. Howitt,) the Halling dance is described thus :

"It begins, creeping along the ground with short, sliding steps, and with motions of the legs and arms in which great strength is indolently displayed. There is something bearish, awkward, slothful, half-dreaming in its movements. But it awakes — it

becomes animated. Then the dancers stand erect and make displays of strength, in which power and agility seem to contend with indolence and awkwardness, and to conquer. He, who but now seemed bound to the earth, springs on high, and moves through the air as if on wings. Then, after many neckbreaking movements and evolutions, which make the head of the unaccustomed spectator swim, the dance retakes its former quiet, careless, heavy character, and the performers end, as they began, stooping listlessly toward the earth."

In her own version, it reads as follows :

"It begins, as it were, upon the ground, *amid jogging little hops*, accompanied by movements of the arms in which, as it were, a great strength plays negligently. It is somewhat bear-like, indolent, clumsy, half-dreaming. But it wakes, it becomes earnest. Then the dancers rise up and dance, and *display themselves in expressions of power*, in which strength and dexterity seem to divert themselves by playing with indolence and clumsiness, and to overcome them. The same person who just before seemed fettered to the earth, springs aloft and throws himself round in the air as though he had wings. Then, after many breakneck movements and evolutions, before which the unaccustomed spectator grows dizzy, the dance suddenly assumes again its first quiet, careless, somewhat heavy character, and closes, as it began, sunk upon the earth."

What peculiarity of vision Mrs. Howitt may be afflicted with, which prevents her from seeing this passage, we cannot tell. It may be, that she did not recognize it in the easy and more elegant dress in which the American translator had clothed it. Or it may be, and we fear this is more likely, that a keen selfishness is apt to produce the most helpless myopy in its unhappy votaries. Merely adding, that the greater number of the omissions charged upon the American translation are quite as *singular* as this, we leave the matter to the decision of our readers. Even had these charges been true, they would have been scarcely less dishonest, considered as coming from Mrs. Howitt, who had left out three pages at once in "Nina," and had changed the plot of "The Home," in order to conceal a similar omission in her translation of that tale.

As Mrs. Howitt is particularly plaintive in regard to the poetical translations, we will give an example or two of the comparative excellence of the American versions and her

own. It is proper to state, generally, that the ruggedness of her translations must not be ascribed to their literal character, for they are usually not more faithful to the original than their American rivals. The motto to the first chapter of "Strife and Peace," in Mrs. Howitt's version, stands thus :

"Still the old tempests rage around the mountains,
And ocean's billows, as of old, appear :
The roaring wood and the resounding fountains
Time has not silenced in his long career,
For Nature is the same as ever."

The following is the American version :

"Nature has known no change, felt no decay,
For untold ages in this ancient land ;
Her dark woods wave, her rivers hold their way,
Majestic as when fresh from Nature's hand.
Down the dread depths, as in the dawn of time,
The raging cataracts their waters urge,
And proudly now, as in their youthful prime,
The gray cliffs offer battle to the surge."

The motto to Mrs. Howitt's second chapter is as follows :

"Knowest thou the deep, cool vale
Where church-like stillness doth prevail ;
Where neither flock nor herd you meet,
Which hath no name, nor track of feet ?"

The American edition reads thus :

"Knowest thou the hidden vale,
The still, the nameless, o'er whose silent meads
Wander no grazing herds ; on whose green turf
The restless foot of man has worn no path ?"

Mrs. Howitt has shown a great liking for cattle. She has conveyed ("the wise it call") these herds out of the American version. The original says nothing of them. A literal translation would be, — "Knowest thou the cool, deep, church-still vale, without *hearths* (*Arner*), without path and name ?" Possibly, she took it from the German, mistaking *Heerde* for *Heerd*. But we are warranted in tracing it to the American version from the fact that, in another place, where Miss Bremer has quoted Job, Mrs. Howitt has followed the American translator, and given a different text from that in the Swedish.

Mrs. Howitt gives the following translation of some lines by Rein on the death of Gustavus Adolphus.

“ At once is dimmed thy glory’s ray ;
Thy flowery garland fades away,
Bowed mother ! But thy brightness splendid
Shall never more be ended.
The grateful world on me her love will cast,
Who mother of Gustavus wast ! ”

The American translator gives the following version :

“ Bowed are the honors of thy stately head ;
Dimmed is thy light ; withered thy garlands lie ;
Yet weep not hopelessly o’er thy brave dead,
Thou mourning mother ! Glory cannot die.
Thy hero passed to no ignoble grave,
He fell not ere a deathless fame was won ;
And earth shall count among her true and brave
The warrior king, Gustavus, Sweden’s son ! ”

We now take our leave of a subject upon which, we can truly say, we had a great reluctance to enter. We have made but a very limited exposure of Mrs. Howitt’s groundless claims to a monopoly of Miss Bremer,* and her unwomanly attacks upon her American rivals ; and we were only induced to undertake the task by a sense of justice. Mrs. Howitt (we can no longer bring ourselves to call her by the gentle name of Mary) had been dear to so many in this country, that her ungracious preface caused sorrow in many hearts. We cannot but hope, that she did not write it herself, though her assuming it, by the addition of her name, is hardly less painful to think of. We should have the same feeling in regard to any *woman* ; but it becomes deeper and sadder when we receive so rude a shock from one we have loved as a type of feminine gentleness and delicate sympathy with beautiful things. If any thing passes that sorrow which the great Tuscan deemed the heaviest, it is to be obliged to think with aversion of one who has once been dear and welcome to our hearts.

* As to her claim as a discoverer, it is only ridiculous. Miss Bremer’s works had gone through several editions in German, and had been praised in the German reviews, long before Mrs. Howitt undertook her “speculation.” The Swedish edition of a part of them had been in the Harvard College Library *five years* when Mrs. Howitt’s first translation appeared.

ART. VIII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Poems on Man, in his various Aspects under the American Republic*. By CORNELIUS MATHEWS, Author of the "Motley Book," "Behemoth," "Puffer Hopkins," &c. New York : Wiley and Putnam. 1843. 16mo. pp. 112.

MR. MATHEWS is more favorably known to the literary public as the strenuous advocate of an international copyright law, than as an author. Yet some of his earlier writings were not without merit. His story called "Behemoth" showed uncommon imagination, and considerable power of style. It embodied a striking aboriginal tradition, and was told in manly, nervous, and unaffected language. It was a work which indicated something like genius, and gave good promise of better things to come ; but each succeeding work has, by a regular gradation, sunk below its predecessor, exactly reversing the ordinary course of young and gifted authors. The art of sinking on a great scale was never more skilfully practised. With good and even high aims, Mr. Mathews has shown a marvellous skill in failing, each failure being more complete than the last. His comedy of "The Politicians" is "the most lamentable comedy"; and the reader exclaims, with Hippolyta, "This is the silliest stuff that ever I heard." The career of Puffer Hopkins is an elaborately bad imitation of Dickens ; and must be ranked in fiction where "The Politicians" stands in the drama. It aims at being comical, and satirical upon the times. The author studies hard to portray the motley characters which move before the observer in a large city ; but he has not enough of the vision and the faculty divine, to make them more than melancholy ghosts of what they profess to be. The attempts at humor are inexpressibly dismal ; the burlesque overpowers the most determined reader, by its leaden dulness. The style is ingeniously tasteless and feeble. He who has read it through can do or dare any thing.

How is it, that a young man of talent can perpetrate such literary enormities ? The question can only be answered by stating the peculiarities of style, which these works manifest. Mr. Mathews suffers from several erroneous opinions. He seems to think, that literary elegance consists in the very qualities which make elegance impossible. Simplicity and directness of language he abominates. When he has an idea to express, he aims, apparently, to convert it into a riddle, by inventing the most

forced, unnatural, and distorted expressions. If the thing can be obscured, he is sure to obscure it. He seems to say to the reader, "Can you guess? do you give it up?" But then, less obliging than the maker of charades, he leaves the puzzled victim without an explanation at last. He studies a singularity of phrase at once crabbed and finical, and overloads his pages with far-fetched epithets, that are at once harsh and unmeaning. He seems to have been told, that he has wit and humor, and — strange delusion — to believe it. He writes as if he imagined that he possessed the inventive power; — never was a greater mistake. These qualities and these mistakes make his prose writings unreadable and intolerable, — at least, all the later ones. But when to the charms of his ordinary style are added the attractions of verse, then the sense aches with the combined and heightened beauties. The present volume exaggerates all his literary vices. The plan of these poems is very well; if executed with taste and power, the volume would have been interesting. As it is, we have here and there a good line, a striking figure, or a bold expression. But most of the poems are deformed by harshness of versification, feebleness of thought, and every species of bad writing. Compounded words, never seen before, and impossible to be pronounced, epithets detailed on service for which they are wholly unfit, figures that illustrate nothing but their own absurdity, and rhymes that any common book would die of, astonish the reader on every page. Had the poet purposely aimed to twist the English language into every conceivable form of awkwardness, had he designed to illustrate, for the use of beginners, every possible defect and every positive fault of diction, his success in accomplishing the object could not have been more complete. We say these things with regret, because, as was intimated before, we regard the aims of Mr. Mathews, on several matters of importance, with respect, and we think he has the power to make valuable contributions to our literature. But he will never do so without rejecting *all* his present notions of fine writing, unlearning all the bad lessons he has been taught, and returning to nature, simplicity, and truth.

We had marked many characteristic passages in the present volume, to illustrate the observations we have felt called on to make. But we have space only for a few lines. In the first poem, besides many other absurdities of thought as well as expression, occurs this line:

"Strides he the globe, or *canvass-tents* the sea."

Who ever heard of the verb to *canvass-tent*? To *canvass-back* the sea would be much more rational.

In the second poem we find this luminous line :

"*Clear as the clear, round midnight at its full,*"

which must be very clear indeed.

What can be the meaning of the following words in the "Teacher" ?

"Whose eyes cry light through all its dawning void."

Again, in the "Farmer" :

"Fierce revolutions rush in *wild-orbed* haste."

In the "Mechanic," the following very intelligible direction is given to the architect :

"In the first Builder's gracious spirit work,
Through hall, through enginery, and *temples meek,*
In grandeur towered, or lapsing, beauty-sleek,
Let order and creative fitness shine."

In the "Merchant," the poet affirms :

"Undimmed the man should through the trader shine,
And show the soul *unbabied* by his craft."

This can only mean, that the soul of the trader ought not to be supplied with babies by his craft.

The "Sculptor" ends with this prediction :

"And up shall spring through all the *broad-set* land,
The *fair while* people of thy love unnumbered."

In the "Journalist," we find the following *directions to the printer* :

"Hell not the quiet of a Chosen Land,
Thou grimy man over thine engine bending."

Hell, as a common noun, is a sufficiently uncomfortable idea ; but when converted into an active verb, it becomes positively alarming.

The poet thus advises "The Masses" :

"In vast assemblies calm, let order rule,
And every shout a cadence owning,
Make musical the vexed wind's moaning,
And be as little children at a singing school."

And the "Reformer" is told to

"Seize by its horns the shaggy Past,
Full of uncleanness."

2. — 1. *The Prelatical Doctrine of Apostolical Succession examined, and the Protestant Ministry defended against the Assumptions of Popery and High-Churchism, in a Series of Lectures.* By THOMAS SMYTH, Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Charleston, South Carolina. Boston : Crocker & Brewster. 1841. 8vo. pp. 568.
2. *Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity.* By THOMAS SMYTH. 1843. 8vo. pp. 568.
3. *Ecclesiastical Republicanism ; or, the Republicanism, Liberty, and Catholicity of Presbyterianism, in Contrast with Prelacy and Popery.* By THOMAS SMYTH. 1843. 12mo. pp. 323.

THESE ponderous, but very handsome, volumes form an elaborate treatise upon a question, which is now exciting an unusual and very extraordinary degree of popular interest. We have no intention of here setting forth our opinion upon the controverted points ; and an analysis of Mr. Smyth's volumes would occupy more space than we can spare. But we may say, that the author's tone is such as befits a scholar and a divine. His good temper even improves as he proceeds, — an extraordinary thing in religious controversy, — from which we infer, that he has full confidence in the strength of his own arguments. Neither does our author set the "divine right of Presbytery" against the "divine right of Prelacy," as his title-pages might be deemed to imply. Though standing in the Presbyterian ranks, and with a strong and natural bias in favor of the ecclesiastical polity of Calvin and John Knox, he contends only for the general cause of Protestantism, and "includes under the term, presbytery, those generic principles which are common to Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Reformed Dutch, Lutherans, Baptists, and Methodists."

In execution, the first of these volumes is greatly inferior to its successors. The author did not give himself time to elaborate the mass of materials which he had industriously collected from all the ordinary sources, especially from the old English divines, both prelatie and puritan, who have long since exhausted all the arguments which bear strongly upon the questions debated between a High-Churchman and a Presbyterian. The book is rendered tedious by redundant quotations, wearisome repetitions, and needless amplification of minor or collateral points. It is rather a storehouse of arguments, than a close argumentation, or a well-arranged digest. These remarks, however, do not apply to the second work in the series, which the author has elaborated with care, so as to do justice both to himself and to the subject. The third treatise of Mr. Smyth, a mere *pendant* to the other

two, hardly requires a particular notice at our hands; since few will question the republican tendency of presbyterianism. Dean Swift very plausibly traces the "opposition to kingly government in England" directly to the influence of those Protestants, driven abroad by the persecutions under Queen Mary, who, for a time, "*resided at Geneva, which is a commonwealth governed without a king, where the religion contrived by Calvin is without the order of bishops.*"

3. — *Willie Rogers, or Temper Improved.* Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins. 1844. 12mo. pp. 104.

WE are not in the habit of noticing books for children, which have multiplied on our hands of late with alarming rapidity, so that the manufacture of them seems to have become quite a branch of trade in this country. But the character of many of these publications is such, that we look back almost with regret upon the days, when the rhymes of Mother Goose and tales of fairy land formed nearly the whole contents of our juvenile libraries. Morality and science are now hashed up into baby talk, and are inculcated in such wise, that if the stupidity of the book does not hinder it from producing any impression, it will be likely to convert its youthful readers into formal little pedants or affected hypocrites. Occasionally, however, a book of rare merit, like the little volume now before us, makes its appearance, and we would fain do our humble part to prevent its being lost amidst the heap of trash on the booksellers' counter, with which it is surrounded. The writer is evidently a lover of children, admires their winning and roguish ways, and enters into the very spirit of their generous impulses, their quick affections, and their pranks and peccadilloes. The incidents are probable and well chosen, and are told with grace and naturalness. The little hero is so admirably drawn, that we suspect it is a portrait from the life, and he is surrounded with a group of very familiar faces. Little Sarah, and Tom, and Becky are all old acquaintances of ours, and we are glad to meet them again. They are not little men and women, stiffly drawn on pattern cards, but true children, at once active and droll, laughing and crying, in a breath. The only proper companions for them, that we have ever found *in print*, are members of the admirable group in Miss Edgeworth's "*Sequel to Frank.*" We would willingly enlarge the circle of their acquaintances, and, therefore, heartily commend them to the notice of all anxious mothers and affectionate aunts.

4. — *Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity in the Punishment of the Wicked; with Notes*, by H. B. HACKETT, Professor of Biblical Literature in Newton Theological Institution. Andover: Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell. 1844. 16mo. pp. 171.

THE able and learned Professors in the Theological Institution at Newton are contributing much to the promotion of letters, and are rapidly making their school one of the centres of light and knowledge in the land. The little book, the title of which is copied above, is the result of careful critical study, and is a valuable addition to the literature of the times. Plutarch, though wanting in the graces which mark the best productions of Grecian genius, yet holds an eminent rank as a biographer and moralist. In the latter character, his writings are even more important than in the former; and the explanation and illustration of them formed the almost life-long labor of love for one of the most illustrious modern scholars. The little treatise on the delay of the Deity in punishing the wicked is one of the most interesting and remarkable of all the works of Plutarch. The subject, not without its difficulties, even in a Christian age, is handled by the philosopher of Chæronea with a profound and awful sense of the majesty of the Deity, and a humble and almost Christian submission to the dispensations of his Providence. The objections of the Epicureans to the existence of a moral government of the universe, drawn from the fact, that crime apparently goes unpunished in the course of human affairs, sometimes for many years, and sometimes for ever, are entertained with candor, but answered with a force of argument, and a splendor of illustration, against which the cavilling and the sophistry of skepticism cannot a moment stand. The examples which Plutarch cites to show the agonies of conscience, commencing with the moment of successfully accomplished crime, the penalty being, therefore, coeval with the guilt, are most striking and impressive; and the views which he suggests as to the purposes intended by the Deity to be brought about, by postponing the formal, and, as it were, judicial punishment of crime, can scarcely be surpassed, even at the present day, in clearness and cogency.

Such being the character of the treatise, the selection of it as a work to be edited anew was peculiarly becoming a theological scholar; and in performing his duty, the editor has constantly borne in mind the special relation of the work to moral and religious inquiries. He has, therefore, made copious references to corresponding topics in the Scriptures, thereby suggesting

curious parallelisms, and singularly interesting trains of thought. But, apart from this special purpose, the labors of Mr. Hackett are valuable in a simply literary point of view. The text is carefully prepared; the notes are sufficiently critical to enable a reader moderately versed in the principles of Greek construction, to understand the forms of Plutarch's somewhat difficult style; and the illustrations of the historical allusions are copious and precise. Mr. Hackett has availed himself of the aid of the best recent German writers on Greek grammar, — as, indeed, every one who would edit a classic satisfactorily or usefully must do, — in the critical portion of his notes. The notes are preceded by a brief, but very excellent summary of the argument, in which all the leading points, and the important illustrations are combined and arranged with such distinctness, force, and effect, that, from reading this alone, a clear conception of the discussion may be formed.

The character of the original work, the neatness, convenience, and accuracy which mark the volume, and the elegant, scholar-like simplicity which graces Mr. Hackett's preface, analysis, and notes, render it worthy of a larger audience than that for which it seems to have been directly intended.

-
5. — *Letter to a Lady in France on the supposed Failure of a National Bank, the supposed Delinquency of the National Government, the Debts of the several States, and Repudiation, with Answers to Inquiries concerning the Books of Captain Marryatt and Mr. Dickens.* By THOMAS G. CARY. Second Edition. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1844. 8vo. pp. 60.

WE regard the publication of this letter as a service to the whole country. It is written in an excellent style, with no flourish or pretension, and with the most precise information on the various topics which it handles. The tone of the letter cannot be too much commended for its gentlemanlike calmness and moderation. Mr. Cary has belonged many years to one of the most distinguished mercantile houses in the United States; and the personal part he has taken in financial affairs, and the practical knowledge which his position in commerce has given him, enable him to speak on these subjects with an authority much superior to that of speculating politicians or rancorous partisans, in whose hands matters of this nature, to the great misfortune of the country, have been quite exclusively placed. This pamphlet

has probably instructed many Americans, who, before reading it, imagined that they were already at home in the subjects of which it treats ; and it is to be hoped, that its circulation abroad, while it will not abate one jot from the deep damnation to which the dishonesty of the repudiating demagogues has doomed them, will yet put a check upon the tongues of the ignorant and supercilious scoffers, who join in the hue and cry of wholesale national calumny, and live by running down the reputations of those who are better than themselves.

The topics of this letter cannot here be discussed ; but its uncommon merits, both of matter and manner, demanded this notice, if nothing more. It has been so generally read, commented on, and admired, that there is the less occasion to indicate its claims upon the favorable attention of the public, otherwise than in this general way.

-
6. —1. *A Grammar of the Greek Language. Part First. Syntax.* By ALPHEUS CROSBY, Professor of the Greek Language and Literature in Dartmouth College. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 487.
2. *A Narrative of the Expedition of Cyrus the Younger, and of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, by Xenophon of Athens.* Edited by ALPHEUS CROSBY. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 282.

THE first portion of this Grammar has been published some time. The present contains the syntax of the Attic, and Common Dialects of the Greek Language. Some objection may, perhaps, be made to the separation of the Attic, to such an extent, from the older forms of the language ; but putting this aside, no scholar can read the present work without feeling that the subject is treated with masterly clearness, and a most philosophical arrangement. The principles are stated with elegance and precision, and the examples used to illustrate them are admirably selected and applied. The strictest scientific method is carried through the work ; and we cannot but regard the labors of Professor Crosby, whose scholarship is marked by an accuracy of judgment no less conspicuous than the delicacy of his taste, as honorable to his own attainments and to the literary character of our country. What a contrast is presented between the grammars of Sophocles and Crosby, and the meagre and mechanical compends, by the aid of which the unfortunate youth of a past generation were reluctantly compelled to drudge at their repulsive task.

One peculiar feature in Mr. Crosby's plan is the selection of a particular work — the *Anabasis of Xenophon* — as a model to illustrate the principles of construction laid down in the grammar. He has published a very neat and correct edition of the text of this favorite work, as a companion to the grammar. There is much to commend in a scheme so well compacted and so complete in all its parts as this. Mr. Crosby promises a grammar of the dialects and an edition of the *Odyssey* to follow; it is to be hoped he will be encouraged to go on with his work; for few men are so well qualified, by nature and education, for these critical pursuits.

7. — *A New and Complete French and English, and English and French Dictionary, on the Basis of the Royal Dictionary*; compiled by Professors FLEMING and TIBBINS. Prepared, with Additions, by J. DOBSON. Philadelphia: Carey and Hart. 1844. 8vo. pp. 1376.

WE have copied but a small part of the title of this bulky volume, as the whole of it would fill a page. It is a work of so much merit, that we are sorry the editor has fallen into the practice, too common now-a-days, of turning the whole table of contents into the title-page of a book, and stuffing it with all the trite epithets of a puffing vocabulary. A complete and accurate dictionary of the French language, in addition to the mere compendious manuals used in schools, was much needed among us, and this volume appears to supply the deficiency in a very satisfactory manner. It is compiled with care from standard works of the highest authority. The list of words is very full, embracing the technical terms of most frequent use in the various sciences, and the definitions and illustrations seem to be accurate and well chosen. The use of a dictionary is at all times a most trying occupation for weak eyes, and its mechanical execution, therefore, is a point of great importance. We are happy to find, that the print and paper of this volume are unexceptionable, the type being of good size and quite well defined, and the impression bold and distinct. We hope the publishers may be rewarded by the general adoption of the work as a standard of reference for students of the French language.

8. — *Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education, together with the Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Boston : 1844. 8vo. pp. 199.

THE present report, embracing an account of Mr. Mann's observations on the state of schools in the principal nations of Europe, is both highly interesting and instructive. One thing in the history of it we regret ; and that is, that the indefatigable Secretary was allowed to make this tour on the public service at his own expense ; his leave of absence, for which he seems to us to be superfluously grateful, being in spirit exactly like the resolution of the Pickwick Club, when its immortal founder prepared to extend his researches into parts unknown ; " that this association cordially recognizes the principle of every member of the Corresponding Society defraying his own travelling expenses ; and that it sees no objection whatever to the members of the said society pursuing their inquiries for any length of time they please, upon the same terms."

Mr. Mann visited the principal cities in Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Belgium, returning by way of Paris. He examined with surprising industry the schools in these several countries, and has embodied in this report the result of his observations with sagacious remarks, and important applications to the condition of schools among ourselves. Nor has he neglected humane and charitable institutions, in his broad and philanthropic survey.

The general character of this report, which is all that can be given at the close of our present number, is excellent in manner and matter. It has some defects of arrangement, and some faults of style ; and the shortness of the time during which Mr. Mann was abroad has occasioned some mistakes. Several assertions are too unqualified. Speaking of the " Royal Orphan House at Potsdam," containing a thousand inmates, children of soldiers, he says, " they seem collected there as a monument of the havoc which war makes of men ;" which can hardly be the case, since Prussia has had no war for more than a quarter of a century. Mr. Mann might have spared, also, some unnecessary girdings at German home-made Latin and Greek, and his ten times repeated assaults upon that famous Teutonic institution, the upper feather-bed ; which must be a very pleasant covering to sleep under in winter, the only well founded complaint against it being, according to the best authority, its want of length and breadth.

To the eloquent and noble conclusion of this Report, we say a heartfelt amen ; and we take leave of the subject, — hoping to return to it again, — with a feeling of gratitude and admiration for the writings and actions of this distinguished public benefactor.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

The Farmer's Mine, or Source of Wealth, with Information on the Subject of Manure. By Henry Heermance. New York: Saxton & Miles. 12mo. pp. 327.

ANNUALS.

The Wintergreen; a Perennial Gift for 1844. Edited by John Keese. New York: Charles Wells & Co. 12mo. pp. 247.

The Housekeeper's Annual and Ladies' Register for 1844. Boston: Redding & Co. 12mo. pp. 96.

The Whig Almanac and Politician's Register for 1844. New York: Greeley & McElrath. 12mo. pp. 72.

BIOGRAPHY.

American Naval Biography. Compiled from the best Authorities, by John Frost, LL. D. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler. 8vo. pp. 440.

Collections of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society. Number One. Memoirs of Roger Clap, 1630. Boston: David Clap, Jr. 12mo. pp. 64.

The Life of James Arminius, D. D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden. Compiled by Nathan Bangs, D. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 288.

A Biography of John Randolph of Roanoke, with a Selection from his Speeches. By Lemuel Sawyer. New York: Burgess, Stringer, & Co. 8vo. pp. 132.

Sketches of Incidents and Adventures in the Life of Thomas Elworth, the American Pedestrian. Written by Himself. Boston: Redding and Co. 8vo. pp. 68.

The Library of American Biography. Conducted by Jared Sparks, Second Series. Vol. I. Life of Robert de la Salle, by Jared Sparks: Life of Patrick Henry, by Alexander H. Everett. Boston: Little & Brown. 16mo. pp. 398.

EDUCATION.

The Æneid of Virgil; with English Notes, Critical and Explanatory. By Charles Anthon, LL. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 942.

A New System of French Grammar. Arranged with Questions, and a Key in English. By Sarah E. Seaman. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 297.

Elements of Algebra; embracing the Theory and Application of Logarithms. By the Rev. David W. Clark, A. M. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 358.

French Made Easy. An abridged Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the French Language. By Bernard Ullmann. New York: William E. Dean. 12mo. pp. 144.

Conversations on Italy; in English and French. By Miss Julia S. Hawkes. Philadelphia: Griggs and Elliot. 16mo. pp. 360.

The Primary School Reader. Part Third. By William D. Swan. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 12mo. pp. 156.

Supplemental Plates to the Manual of Classical Literature. By N. W. Fiske. Philadelphia: Edward C. Biddle. 8vo. pp. 32.

System of Modern Geography. By William C. Woodbridge. New Edition, revised and enlarged, accompanied by Modern and Ancient Atlases, expressly adapted to the work. Hartford: Belknap & Hammersley. 1844. 12mo. pp. 474 and 96.

Modern School Geography, accompanied by an Atlas, Physical and Political. By William C. Woodbridge. Hartford: Belknap & Hammersley. 1844. 16mo. pp. 352.

HISTORY.

The Beauties of American History. By the Author of "Evenings in Boston," &c. New York: Alexander V. Blake. 12mo. pp. 252.

A History of the American Revolution. First published in London under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. New York: Alexander V. Blake. 12mo. pp. 252.

A History of the Operations of a Partisan Corps, called the "Queen's Rangers," during the War of the American Revolution. New York: Bartlett & Welford. 8vo. pp. 328.

JUVENILE BOOKS.

The Adventures of Hernan Cortes, the Conqueror of Mexico. By the Author of "Uncle Philip's Conversations." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 186.

The Boy's Book. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. New York: Turner, Hughes, & Hayden. 12mo. pp. 247.

Make the Best of it, or Cheerful Cherry, and other Tales. By the Author of "Peter Parley's Tales." New York: Wiley and Putnam. 12mo. pp. 170.

The Game of the Races. By the Author of the "Improved Game of Dr. Busby." Boston: William Crosby & Co. 12mo. pp. 12.

The Juvenile Companion and Fireside Reader. By the Rev. J. L. Blake, D. D. New York: Alexander V. Blake. 12mo. pp. 252.

The Two Half Dollars, and other Tales. A Gift for Children. Boston: Tappan & Dennet. 12mo. pp. 173.

A Visit to the Mountains; or a Narrative of an Excursion into the Country. By John S. C. Abbott. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 12mo. pp. 179.

The Jewel; a Holyday Gift for Boys and Girls. Edited by Emma F. Allston. New York: J. Winchester. 16mo. pp. 160.

LAW.

A Lecture on the Law of Representations in Marine Insurance, with Notes and Illustrations. By John Duer, LL. D. New York : John S. Voorhies. 8vo. pp. 239.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Children. By D. Francis Condie, M. D. Philadelphia : Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 651.

Infant Treatment, with Directions to Mothers. By Mrs. Barwell. James Mowatt & Co. 12mo. pp. 148.

A Treatise on Dislocations and Fractures of the Joints. By Sir Astley Cooper, Baronet. Edited by Bransby B. Cooper, F. R. S. Philadelphia : Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 499.

An Elementary Treatise on Human Physiology, on the Basis of the "Précis Élémentaire de Physiologie, par F. Magendie." Translated by John Revere, M. D. New York : Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 539.

Pharmacologia, being an Extended Inquiry into the Operation of Medicinal Bodies. By J. A. Paris, M. D., F. R. S., with Notes by Charles A. Lee, M. D.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Morning Watches; a Few Words on "Strauss and the Gospels;" the Confession of Faith of Frederika Bremer. Translated from the Swedish by a Swede. 8vo. pp. 24.

Anecdotes of American Indians. By the Author of "Evenings in Boston." New York : Alexander V. Blake. 12mo. pp. 252.

Handbook for Readers and Students. By A. Potter, D. D. New York : Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 330.

The Trial of the Pope of Rome, the Antichrist or Man of Sin. With an Appendix. Boston : Tappan & Dennet. 12mo. pp. 176.

The Silk Question Settled. Published under the Direction of the American Institute. New York : Saxton & Miles. 8vo. pp. 80.

The Origin of the North American Indians; with a Faithful Description of their Manners and Customs. By John McIntosh. New York : Nafis & Cornish. 12mo. pp. 311.

In Town and About; or Pencillings and Pennings. Designed by Felix O. C. Darley, with Descriptions by Joseph C. Neal. Philadelphia : Godey & McMichael. 4to. pp. 12.

Hints on Etiquette and the Usages of Society. By Charles W. Day. Boston : William D. Ticknor. 12mo. pp. 157.

The Vegetable Kingdom; or Handbook of Plants and Fruits. By L. D. Chapin. New York : Jerome Lott. 12mo. pp. 228.

Mr. Cheever's Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress, and on the Life and Times of John Bunyan. New York : Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 40.

Thirty Years Passed among the Players in England and America. By Joe Cowell, Comedian. New York : Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 103.

Mexico as it Was and as it Is. By Brantz Mayer. New York : J. Winchester. 8vo. pp. 390.

The Year Book of the Reformation. Edited by B. Kurtz, D. D. and J. G. Morris, D. D. Baltimore. 12mo. pp. 416.

The Lady's Guide to Embroidery and Applique. Revised and enlarged by an American Lady. New York : Burgess & Stringer. 12mo. pp. 48.

The Lady's Self-Instructor in Millinery, and all branches of Plain Sewing. By an American Lady. New York : Burgess, Stringer, & Co. 12mo. pp. 48.

Keep Warm. Thermal Comfort ; or, Popular Hints for Preservation from Colds, Coughs, and Consumption. By Sir George Lefevre, M. D. New York : James Mowatt & Co. 24mo. pp. 63.

The Lady's Handbook of the Toilette, a Manual of Fashion, Health, and Beauty. New York : Burgess, Stringer, & Co. 16mo. pp. 64.

Etiquette for Ladies ; a Manual of the most approved Rules of Conduct in Polished Society. New York : Burgess, Stringer, & Co. 16mo. pp. 63.

The Complete Confectioner, Pastry Cook, and Baker. Philadelphia : Lea & Blanchard. 12mo. pp. 154.

The Complete Cook. Plain and Practical Directions for Cooking and Housekeeping, with upwards of 700 Receipts. By J. M. Sander-son. Philadelphia : Lea & Blanchard. 12mo. pp. 196.

The Canons of Good Breeding ; or, Handbook for the Man of Fashion. Philadelphia : Lindsay & Blakiston. 16mo. pp. 224.

Lights and Shadows of American Life. By Robert H. Collyer, M. D. Boston : Redding & Co. 8vo. pp. 40.

The Handbook of the Sentiment and Poetry of Flowers. Boston : Saxton, Pierce, & Co. 16mo. pp. 61.

A Complete Descriptive and Statistical Gazetteer of the United States of America. By Daniel Haskel, A. M., and J. Calvin Smith. New-York : Sherman & Smith. 8vo. pp. 752.

Leseur's Philosophy, or the Pantonomic System of the Universe. Book First. Hartford : J. G. Wells. 8vo. pp. 40.

MUSIC.

Music without a Master, or with a Master, by a new Method. New York : Saxton & Miles. 8vo. pp. 59.

NEW PERIODICALS.

Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine. Edited by John Inman. New York : Israel Post. 8vo. pp. 48.

Brownson's Quarterly Review. January, 1844. Boston : Benjamin H. Greene. 8vo. pp. 136.

The Monthly Religious Magazine. January, 1844. Boston : J. C. Bowles and William Crosby. 12mo. pp. 36.

The Evergreen, or, Church Offering for all Seasons. Edited by Joseph Salkeld. January, 1844. New Haven : J. Salkeld. 8vo. pp. 32.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

The Young Student ; or, Ralph and Victor. By Madame Guizot.

From the French, by Samuel Jackson. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 524.

The Pupil of Raphael. New York : Wiley & Putnam. Two Vols. 12mo.

The Doom of the Tory's Guard. A Tale. By Newton Curtis. New York : Burgess, Stringer, & Co. 8vo. pp. 48.

Moll Pitcher, the Fortune-Teller of Lynn. A Tale. By J. S. Jones, M. D. Boston : Redding & Co. 8vo. pp. 46.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

The Education of Females. An Address. By William Russell. Andover : Allen, Morrill, & Wardwell. 8vo. pp. 32.

The Voice of the Church One, under all the Successive Forms of Christianity ; a Discourse. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D. D. Translated by Rev. R. Smith, Waterford, N. Y. New York : John S. Taylor & Co. 12mo. pp. 63.

Anniversary Address, delivered before the American Institute, New York, October 20th, 1843. By Daniel D. Barnard. New York : J. Van Norden & Co. 8vo. pp. 28.

An Address delivered before the Society of Alumni of Williams College, August 16th, 1843. By Mark Hopkins, D. D. Boston : T. R. Marvin. 8vo. pp. 41.

POETRY.

Introits, or Ante-Communion Psalms, for the Sundays and Holy-days throughout the Year. Philadelphia : Lindsay and Blakiston. 12mo. pp. 187.

THEOLOGY AND SERMONS.

Sermons by Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D., Minister of King's Chapel, Boston. Boston : C. C. Little & James Brown. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 340, 390.

Two Sermons on Brotherly Faithfulness and Church Discipline. By Jonathan Ward. Boston : Samuel N. Dickinson. 12mo. pp. 24.

The Christian Youth's Book ; and Manual for Young Communicants. By William C. Brownlee, D. D. New York : Robert Carter. 12mo. pp. 480.

The Bible or the Church. A Discourse. By George E. Ellis. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 8vo. pp. 32.

The Christian Doctrine of Charity. A Sermon, delivered before the Howard Benevolent Society, Jan. 15, 1844. By F. D. Huntington. Boston : William Crosby & Co. 8vo. pp. 26.

Lectures on Christian Doctrine. By Andrew P. Peabody. Boston : James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 227.

History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles. By Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the Original German, by J. E. Ryland. Philadelphia : James M. Campbell & Co. 8vo. pp. 331.

Invitations to True Happiness, and Motives for becoming a Christian. By Joel Parker, D. D. New York : Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 157.

History of all Christian Sects and Denominations ; their Origin,

Peculiar Tenets, and Present Condition. By John Evans, LL.D. New York: Burgess, Stringer, & Co. 12mo. pp. 288.

Daily Manna for Christian Pilgrims. By Baron Stow. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 16mo. pp. 128.

A Church without a Bishop. The Apostolical and Primitive Church, popular in its Government, and simple in its Worship. By Lyman Coleman. With an Introductory Essay, by Dr. Augustus Neander. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 12mo. pp. 432.

An Alarm to Christian Patriots: a Thanksgiving Sermon, delivered November 30th, 1843, in Winsted, Ct. By Rev. D. W. Clark. Hartford: Elihu Geer. 1844. 8vo. pp. 23.

Doctrines of the New Jerusalem: a Sermon delivered at the Dedication of the New Jerusalem Temple in Bath, Maine. By Samuel F. Dike. Boston: T. H. Carter & Co. 1844. 8vo. pp. 64.

Christian Mourning. A Discourse delivered at the Funeral of Rev. Lucius Bolles, D. D. By Daniel Sharp. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 8vo. pp. 44.

The Novelties which Disturb our Peace. Four Letters addressed to the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. By John H. Hopkins, D. D. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker. 12mo.

The Church; The Faith; Tradition. A Sermon, by Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D. New York: Onderdonk & Forrest. 8vo. pp. 23.

A Rejected Article, in Reply to Parker's Review of "Hennell on the Origin of Christianity." By a Unitarian Minister. Boston: Benjamin H. Greene. 8vo. pp. 32.

The Hierarchical Despotism. Lectures on the Mixture of Civil and Ecclesiastical Power in the Governments of the Middle Ages. By George B. Cheever. New York: Saxton & Miles. 12mo. pp. 120.

The Thursday Lecture. A Discourse. By R. C. Waterston. Boston: William Crosby. 8vo. pp. 20.

Sixteen Lectures on the Causes, Principles, and Results of the British Reformation. By John H. Hopkins, D. D. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. 12mo. pp. 387.

Ecclesiastes Anglicanus; being a Treatise on Preaching. By the Rev. W. Gresley, M. A. With Supplementary Notes, by the Rev. Benjamin I. Haight, M. A., New York. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 340.

The Kingdom of God. A Sermon. Preached at the Ordination of John Pierpont, jr. By Caleb Stetson. Lynn Press. 8vo. pp. 30.

The History, Character, and Results of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. A Discourse. By Thomas Smyth, D. D. New York: Leavitt, Trow, & Co. 12mo. pp. 124.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Two Months Abroad; or, a Trip to England, France, Baden, Prussia, and Belgium. By a Rail-Road Director. Boston: Redding & Co. 8vo. pp. 64.

Appeal from Tradition to Scripture and Common Sense; or an Answer to the Question, What constitutes the Divine Rule of Faith and Practice. By George Peck, D. D. New York: Lane & Sanford. 12mo. pp. 472.

INDEX

TO THE

FIFTY-EIGHTH VOLUME

OF THE

North-American Review.

A.

Algerine act, so called, passage of, 397.

America, The Poets and Poetry of, by R. Griswold, reviewed, 1 — abundance of commonplace effusions in, 6 — low standard of excellence in, 13 — minor poets in, 30, 35 — material for poetry in, 36 — should become independent of foreign criticism, 37 — kind of poetry needed in, 38. See *Poets*.

American Literature, injured by the spirit of affectation, 283 — exposed to bad influences, 284 — Euphuists and Transcendentalists in, 285.

American Notes, Change for the, reviewed, 211. See *Change*.

American Revolution, the, effects of, 373 — constitutions formed during, 374 — adherence to old institutions in, 375 — did not destroy the Rhode Island charter, 378 — character of, 425 — language of the fathers of, 426 — independence not the primitive object of, 427 — how directed, 428.

Apostolic Succession, doctrine of, examined by Thomas Smyth, noticed, 512.

Architecture in the United States, 436 — low condition of, 437 — blind fondness for Grecian, 438, 453 — want of invention in, 439 — examples of, adduced, 440 — as

shown in the Custom-house, Boston, *ib.* — use of engaged columns in, 442 — unornamented windows in, 443 — as shown in the Boston High School, 445 — in the Tremont Theatre, 447 — in the Exchange, 448 — in the church in Somerset Place, 450 — in the King's chapel, 457 — in Brattle square church, 458 — in the Episcopal church, Cambridge, 460 — in the steeple of the church in Summer street, 461 — in that of the Hollis street church, 462 — in that of Park street, 463 — in the new Library, Cambridge, 470 — in the Bowdoin square church, 471 — in Trinity church, Boston, 472 — in Trinity church, New York, 477 — position of the door in, 445 — the Palladian style in, 454 — ante-Revolutionary examples of, 457 — the Gothic style in, 463 — unity of style in, 468 — committee-men ought not to govern, 473 — benefit of criticisms on, 479. See *Grecian* and *Gothic*.

Attaché, The, or Sam Slick in England, reviewed, 211 — author of, a Provincial Tory, 212 — deals in antiquated political absurdities, 214 — extravagant plot of, 215 — quoted, 216, 217, 218, 222 — prominent characters in, 221 — attempt to ridicule Mr. Everett in, 223 — unfair reasoning and assumptions in, 224. See *Sam Slick*.

Austria not admitted into the Tariff League, 76.
Aztecs, the civilization of, 168 — religious system of, 173 — highest form of the civilization of, 175. See *Mexico* and *Prescott*.

B.

Bancroft, George, on the charter of Rhode Island, cited, 378.
Bangor, as a port for the lumber trade, 326.
Bank of England, proceedings of, in 1836, 119.
Bank of the United States, the war between it and the government, 112 — unwise conduct of, in 1837, 121 — transactions of, in Michigan stock, 135.
Banks, great increase of the, 113 — suspension of payments by, 120 — second suspension of, 121.
Barry, the architect, works of, 455.
Benjamin, P., merits of the sonnets of, 5.
Bernal Diaz as a chronicler, 204.
Bernard, Gov., correspondence of, cited, 376.
Bondmaid, The, by Miss Bremer, reviewed, 480 — plot and characters of, 492 — quoted, 492, 493 — merits of the translation of, 496. See *Bremer*.
Boston, miserable architecture of the Custom-house in, 440 — of the High school in, 445 — of the Tremont theatre in, 447 — the Exchange in, 448 — the Somerset place church in, 450 — the King's chapel in, 457 — Brattle square church in, 458 — the Summer St. steeple in, 461 — the Hollis St. steeple, 462 — Park St. steeple, 463 — Bowdoin square church, 471 — Trinity church, 472.
Brande, M., on the law of storms, 337.
Bremer, Miss, new translations from, reviewed, 480 — chooses her characters from the upper ranks, 486 — healthy tone of the writings of, 487 — merits of her style, 490 — her fine portraits of children, 491 — high praise due to her, *ib.* — The *Bondmaid* by, 492 — other tales by, 497. See *Bondmaid*.

Bridges, J., surveyor-general in Maine, 307.
Brooks, Maria, poetry of, 33.
Brown, Nicholas, gifts to Brown University by, 230 — list of his several benefactions, 234.
Brown University, Catalogue of the Library of, reviewed, 227 — early history of, 234. See *Library* and *Catalogue*.
Bryant, W. C., beauty and tenderness of his poetry, 18.
Buccaneer, The, by R. H. Dana, quoted, 15.
Burke on society, quoted, 422.
Byron, limited range of characters in, 273.

C.

Cambridge, architecture of the episcopal church in, 460 — of the new library in, 470.
Capper, Col. James, on winds and monsoons, 336.
Carlén, Gov., of Illinois, his message about the public debt, quoted, 140.
Carlyle, Thomas, signature of, 267 — whimsical peculiarities of, 284.
Cary, Thomas G., letter to a lady in France by, noticed, 515.
Catalogue of the Library of Brown University, reviewed, 227 — prepared by Charles C. Jewett, 230 — plan and execution of, 231 — good arrangement of, 232. See *Library*.
Celsus, argument of, against Christianity, 52, 53.
Chalmers on the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut, cited, 376.
Chambers, Sir W., on architecture, 445.
Champlin, J. T., edition of *Demosthenes* on the Crown by, noticed, 240 — great merits of the work, 242.
Change for the American Notes, by an American Lady, reviewed, 211 — one-sided purpose of, 225 — bad style and bad reasoning in, 226 — quoted, *ib.*
Cheap literature, so called, wretched character of, 488.
Chepachet, insurgent camp at, 406.
Christianity, effect of, on early German poetry, 82. See *Evidences*.

- Clark, W. G.*, merits of the poetry of, 30.
- Coffin, George W.*, report by, reviewed, 299 — statement by, of lands sold, 311, *note* — quoted, 327.
- Commerce*, American, prosperous state of, in 1830, 110 — wild spirit of speculation in, 113 — excuses for rashness in, 115 — vast increase of, 117 — revulsion in, 119.
- Congress of 1774*, cited, 428 — delegates to the, how chosen, 429.
- Connecticut*, early republican government of, 376 — constitution of, how amended, 417 — Swift on the charter of, 424.
- Conquest of Mexico*, History of, by W. H. Prescott, reviewed, 157. See *Mexico* and *Prescott*.
- Constitution of the United States*, 415 — of the several States, 416. See *People*.
- Constitutional Jurisprudence of the United States*, by W. A. Duer, noticed, 236 — want of information on the, 237.
- Cortés, the Conqueror*, 189 — character of the soldiers of, 182 — how aided in his enterprise, 188 — high qualities of his companions, 189 — great capacity of, 190 — dates of the events in his expedition, 191 — character and life of, 197 — his later career, 198 — Prescott's estimate of, 199. See *Mexico*.
- Cranch, C. P.*, poems by, 30.
- Crosby, Alpheus*, Greek Grammar and Xenophon's Anabasis by, noticed, 516.
- Crown*, Champlin's edition of Demosthenes on the, noticed, 240.
- Crusades*, effects of the, on German poetry, 52.
- Curiosity*, Sprague's poem of, stolen, 11.
- Cushing, Luther S.*, his report of proceedings in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, noticed, 243 — merits of the report, 247.
- D.
- Dalton on meteorology*, 356.
- Dana, Richard H.*, characterized as a poet, 13 — mental powers displayed by, 14 — quoted, 15, 16 — imagination and despondency of, 17.
- Daniell on meteorology*, 356.
- Debts of the States*, the, 109 — amount of, in 1830, 110 — circumstances under which they were contracted, *ib.* — multiplied by the desire for internal improvements, 114 — excuses for rashness in contracting, 115 — obligation to pay, 116 — failure to pay, 121 — case of Pennsylvania considered, 122 — of Maryland, 125 — of Mississippi, 130 — of Michigan, 134 — of Louisiana, 137 — of Indiana and Illinois, 240 — three classes of, *ib.* — duty to pay, if possible, 141 — case of the repudiating States considered, 142 — to repudiate is to confiscate, 143 — or to destroy the right of property, 146 — strong obligation and motives to pay, 147 — pretexts for non-payment refuted, 148 — ill effects of repudiating, 150 — may be recovered through the courts or by negotiation, 152 — protected by the Constitution of the United States, 154 — a foreign state may sue for, 155 — duty of intelligent men respecting, 156.
- Declaration of Independence*, cited, 425, 428.
- Demosthenes on the Crown*, edited by J. T. Champlin, noticed, 240 — analysis of, 241.
- Diary, A.*, translated by Mrs. Howitt, reviewed, 480 — faults of translation in, 503. See *Howitt*.
- Dickinson, John*, on independence, cited, 426.
- Dorr, Thomas W.*, joins the suffrage party in Rhode Island, 387 — chosen governor of his party, 397 — meets his legislature, 399 — entry of, into Providence, 401 — attacks the arsenal, 402 — attack on the head-quarters of, 403 — officers of, desert him, 404 — actions of, at Chepachet, 406 — arrested, 409 — character of, 411. See *Rhode Island*.
- Dove, Prof.*, on the Law of storms, 337.
- Duer, William A.*, Lectures on the Constitution of the United States by, noticed, 236 — his qualifications for the task, 239.
- Dunbar, David*, surveyor-general in Maine, 307 — offensive conduct of, 308.

Dunham, Dr., his opinion of Robertson, 162.
Durfee, Judge, Charge to the Grand Jury by, 371 — merits of, 410.

E.

East Indian trade, change in, 111.
Ecclesiastical Republicanism, by T. Smyth, noticed, 512.
Edmeston, description of painted glass by, 469.
Education, Mann's Report on, noticed, 518.
Electricity, agency of, in storms, 343, 365.
Espy, James P., the Philosophy of Storms by, reviewed, 335 — outline of the theory of, 344 — erroneous account of the storm of 1780 by, 347 — quoted, 348, 351 — his misstatements exposed, 349 — another wrong account of a storm by, 351 — errors in it exposed, 352 — indebted to Dalton and Daniell, 356 — details of his facts and principles, 358 — explanation of various natural phenomena by, 360 — beauty of his theory, 361 — calculations by, 362 — on the amount of rain, 363 — other objections to the theory of, 364 — does not account for hail, 365 — defects of his theory, 367 — inaccurate statements by, 368 — faults of style and taste of, 369 — unjust to the Huttonian theory, 370. See *Storms*.
Evidences of Christianity, Palfrey's Lowell Lectures on the, reviewed, 39 — contents of the volumes, 40 — errors committed by most writers on the, 41 — proper conduct of the argument on the, 42 — distinction to be made between the Old and New Testaments, 43 — Christianity complete in itself, 45 — validity of historical testimony, 46 — efficacy of miracles as proof, 47 — bearing of the history of infidelity on the, 49 — narrow compass of the infidel argument, 50 — concessions of unbelievers, 51, 54 — early adversaries of the, 52 — unbelief in modern times, 53. See *Palfrey*.

F.

Falmouth, burning of, 318.
False Heir, The, by G. P. R. James, reviewed, 267. See *James*.
Federalist, The, cited, 432.
Ferdinand and Isabella, Prescott's History of, foreign translations of, 158.
Forest Lands, the, and Timber trade of Maine, 299 — described by the early voyagers, 300 — grant of, to Gorges, 302 — different titles to, 304 — surveyors general over, 307 — their oppressive conduct, 308 — alienation of, 310 — amount sold, 311 — large patent rights to, 312 — wealth obtained from, 314 — speculators in, 323 — statistics of, 323 — value of the productions of, 326 — waste and diminution of, 327. See *Massachusetts* and *Timber*.
Franklin, Dr., discovers a law of storms, 335.
French and English Dictionary, edited by J. Dobson, noticed, 517.
Frieze, Jacob, History of the Contest in Rhode Island by, reviewed, 371.

G.

Gallagher, W. D., as a descriptive poet, 5.
Geographers, English, blunders of, 501.
Geometry and the Science of Form, Introduction to, noticed, 248.
German Poetry, history of, by Gerwinus, 79 — the early ballads lost, 80 — rude character of, in early times, 81 — effect of Christianity and the Crusades on, 82 — effusions of the Minnesingers, 83 — Lay of the Nibelungen, 84 — the Gudrun, 85 — the Meistersingers, *ib.* — Hans Sachs, 86 — effect of the Reformation on, 87 — Martin Opitz, 88 — Klopstock, 89 — Wieland, 90 — Lessing, 92 — Winkelmann, 96 — Herder, 97 — Jean Paul Richter, 100 — Goethe, 104 — Schiller, 106 — degeneracy of, 108.
German Quarterly, on the German

- Tariff League, reviewed, 55 — quoted, 56, 67, 71.
- Germany*, maritime prospects of, 56 — state of opinions in, 57 — popularity of the Tariff League in, 60 — divided into petty states, 61 — small influence of these states, 62 — folly of putting heavy duties on American products in, 68 — probable future union of, 77. See *Tariff*.
- Gervinus*, G. G., history of German poetry by, reviewed, 79 — high merits of, 80 — quoted, 102, 107. See *German*.
- Goddard*, William G., Discourse on the affairs of Rhode Island by, reviewed, 371 — merits of, 410.
- Goethe*, an optimist, 104 — an artist, 105 — great natural endowments of, 106 — compared with Schiller, *ib*.
- Gomara*, the historian of Cortés, 204.
- Gorges*, Sir F., receives a grant of Maine, 302 — his grant sold to Massachusetts, 303 — introduces saw-mills into Maine, 321.
- Gosnold* speaks of the woods in New England, 300.
- Gothic* architecture, 463 — impressive effect of, 464 — different periods in, 464 — the Saxon period in, 466 — Norman period in, 467 — of the 13th century, *ib*. — Tudor period in, 468 — Decorated style in, 469 — material for, 470. See *Architecture*.
- Government*, power and right of, to make public works, 128 — liability of, to sudden demands, 151 — nature of, 421.
- Grahame* on the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut, cited, 376.
- Grecian* architecture, rage for, 438 — unequal decoration in, 448 — allows no windows, 450 — not suited to this country, 453 — character of, 456. See *Architecture*.
- Greek* Grammar, by Alpheus Crosby, noticed, 516.
- Griscold*, Rufus W., *The Poets and Poetry of America* by, reviewed, 1 — too liberal in his selections, 2 — merits of his work, 3 — his criticism on Longfellow objected to, 22 — his opinion of W. G. Clark, 30. See *Poets*.
- Gudrun*, an early German poem, 85.
- Guide for Writing Latin*, by J. P. Krebs, translated by S. H. Taylor, noticed, 250.
- H.
- Hackett*, H. B., *Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity* edited by, noticed, 514.
- Hail*, formation of, 360, 365.
- Halleck* Fitz Greene, characterized as a poet, 21.
- Halling* dance, description of, 505.
- Hanover*, treaty of, with the United States, 61 — refuses to join the Tariff-League, 77.
- Hans Sachs*, poetry of, 86.
- Hanse* Towns, reciprocity treaty with, 55 — nature of this treaty, 61 — precarious position of, 65 — cannot tax American staples, 76. See *Tariff* and *United States*.
- Hare*, Dr., on the law of storms, 355.
- Harvard* College, library of, 229.
- Hazard*, Mr., report by, quoted, 419.
- Herder*, character and writings of, 97 — compared with Lessing, *ib*. — early opinions and tastes of, 98 — remarkable change in his principles, 99.
- Heritage*, the, by Lowell, 296.
- History of the Conquest of Mexico*, by W. H. Prescott, reviewed, 157 — the subject deficient in grandeur and interest, 159 — characters in, 160. See *Mexico* and *Prescott*.
- Hoffman*, C. F., as a song writer, 5.
- Holmes*, O. W., as a comic poet, 29.
- Howitt*, Mary, translations from Miss Bremer by, reviewed, 480 — unjust and abusive preface by, 497 — her unfounded claims and accusations, 498 — her versions made from the German, 499 — her blunders in translating, 500 — geographical mistake by, 501 — ungrammatical and inelegant use of language by, 502 — faults in her version of *The Diary*, 503 — her untruth exposed, 504 — false charges by, refuted, 505 — her poetical translations compared with the American, 506 — general effect of her preface, 508.
- Hurricane* of August, 1830, 339 — of March, 1809, 341.
- Hutton*, Dr., theory of rain by, 370.

I.

- Illinois*, public debt of, 140.
Indiana, public debt of, 140.
Introduction to Geometry and the Science of Form, noticed, 248.
Ivanhoe, the novel of, 269.
James, G. P. R., novels by, reviewed, 267 — voluminous mediocrity of, 268 — repeats himself, 269 — little objectivity of, 271 — abounds in moral truisms, 272 — cannot delineate character, 273 — paints artificial men and women, 276 — absurdly compared with Scott, 277 — causes of the popularity of, 278 — his skill in weaving plots, 279 — defects of his style, 280 — possesses some talent, 282.

J.

- Jay*, John, on the waste of timber, 329 — on independence, cited, 427.
Jean Paul. See *Richter*.
Jefferson on independence, cited, 427 — how chosen to Congress, 430 — opinion on American architecture by, 437.
Jewett, Charles C., Catalogue of the Library of Brown University by, reviewed, 227 — skilfully prepared, 230 — biographical notices by, 232 — historical information collected by, 234. See *Catalogue*.

K.

- King*, Gov., applies to President Tyler, 398.
Kingsborough, Lord, thinks Mexico was colonized by the Israelites, 174.
Klopstock, characteristics of, as a poet, 89 — poem of the Messiah by, 90.
Krebs, John P., Guide for Writing Latin by, translated by S. H. Taylor, noticed, 250.

L.

- Laing* on Sweden, cited, 484.
Land Agent of Massachusetts, report of, by G. W. Coffin, reviewed, 299. See *Forest and Timber*.

- Latin*, Guide for Writing, by J. P. Krebs, translated by S. H. Taylor, noticed, 250.
Lecoc, M., account of a storm by, 366.
Lectures on the Constitution of the United States, by W. A. Duer, noticed, 236.
Leeds on Grecian architecture, 450, 454.
Leland's View of English Deists, 48.
Leslie, Prof., on barometric fluctuations, 338.
Lessing, life and poetry of, 92 — general spirit of his writings, 93 — his philosophy, 94 — as a critic and dramatist, 95 — compared with Herder, 97.
Letter to a Lady in France, by T. G. Cary, noticed, 515.
Levett, Chris., account of woods in Maine by, 301.
Libraries, public, in the United States, 227 — growth and importance of, 228.
Library of Brown University, Catalogue of, reviewed, 227 — how provided for, 230 — heterogeneous character of, 233 — Mr. Brown's gift to, 234 — other sums appropriated to, 235 — general character of, 236. See *Catalogue*.
List, Professor, journal edited by, 70.
Longfellow, H. W., as a poet, 22 — artistical ability of, 23 — his power over language, 24 — moral tone of, 25 — intellectual tendencies of, 26 — his lively sense of beauty, 27 — particular mention of some poems of, 28.
Loomis, Elias, paper on storms by, reviewed, 335 — its merits, 371.
Loudon on architecture, 461.
Louisiana, public debt of, 137 — objections to some legislative proceedings in, 138.
Lowell, James R., poems by, reviewed, 233 — progress made by, *ib.* — finer tone of his later works, 286 — a dreamer about radical reforms, *ib.* — requires more catholicity of mind, 287 — redundant in thought and expression, 288 — his "Prometheus," *ib.* — his "Rhæcus," 289 — his faults of style, *ib.* — quoted, 291, 294, 296.
Lowell Lectures on the Evidences, by J. G. Palfrey, reviewed, 39 — honor due to the founder of the,

- ib.* — contents of the first course of, 45 — of the second and third courses, 48. See *Evidences*.
- Loyalty* in a republic, 435.
- Luc*, M. de, on Meteorology, 357.
- Lumberer*, the, sketch of the character of. 332.
- Luther*, as a religious poet, 87.
- M.
- Macgregor* on the Tariff League, quoted, 58, *note*.
- Madison* on the rights of the majority, 432.
- Magnetism*, agency of, in storms, 343.
- Maine*, Forest Lands and Timber Trade of, 299 — Levett's account of trees in, 301 — granted to Gorges, 302 — opposing titles to lands in, 304 — French grants in, 305 — slow colonization of, 310 — large landholders in, 313 — saw-mills in, 321 — character of the lumberers in, 332. Constitution of, how amended, 416. See *Timber and Forest*.
- Majority*, the rights and nature of, 414 — restricted by the constitution of the Union, 415 — and of the several States, 416 — Madison on, cited, 432. See *People*.
- Mann*, Horace, Report on Education by noticed, 518.
- Maple* sugar, manufacture of, 324.
- Margranetto*, capture of the, 318.
- Marina*, Doña, the Mexican, 192.
- Maryland*, amount of the debt of, 125 — taxes necessary to be levied in, 126 — can and ought to pay, 127 — power of the government of, to make public works, 128.
- Massachusetts*, report of the land agent of, reviewed, 299 — buys Maine of Gorges, 303 — grants privileges to the people of Maine, 305 — firm conduct of, 306 — restricted in her second charter, *ib.* governors of, quarrel about timber, 308 — disposes of lands, 310 — liberal management by, 312 — discontent in, caused by the restrictions on the timber trade, 317 — manufacture of tar in, 319 — policy of, respecting the forests, 329. See *Forest and Timber*. Constitutional. LVIII. — NO. 123.
- tution of, how ratified, 413 — how amended, 416 — irregular convention in, 429 — the Shays rebellion in, 431.
- Massachusetts* House of Representatives, Cushing's report of proceedings in the, in January, 1843, noticed, 243.
- Mathews*, Cornelius, poems by, noticed, 509.
- Maupertuis*, observation of, on storms, 341.
- McCulloch* on national architecture, 444.
- McNutt*, Gov., message of, reviewed, 109. See *Mississippi and Debts*.
- Meistersingers*, poetry of the, 85.
- Messiah*, Klopstock's poem of the, 90.
- Mexico*, History of the Conquest of, by W. H. Prescott, reviewed, 157 — attractive qualities of the subject, 160 — external features of, 161, 168 — materials for the history of, 164, 203 — ancient inhabitants and government of, 169 — arts of social life in, 170 — women in, 171 — scientific culture in, *ib.* — religion of, 172 — horrid practices in, 174 — origin of the civilization of, 176 — expedition of Cortés into, 180 — grand and beautiful scenery of, 183 — the Valley of, 184 — battles fought by the conquerors of, 186 — how soon conquered, 191 — beautiful mechanical execution of the work, 210. See *Prescott*.
- Michigan* refuses to pay a part of her debt, 134 — history of the circumstances, 135 — moral obligation to pay, 136.
- Minnesingers*, poetry of the, 83 — inferior to that of the Troubadours, 84.
- Minot's* history, cited, 432.
- Miracles*, efficacy of, as proof, 47.
- Mississippi*, history of repudiation in, 130 — morally bound to pay her debts, 131 — state of public opinion in, 132 — peculiar opinions of the planters in, respecting their debts, 133 — may be sued in her own courts, 153.
- Monteleone*, Duke of, a descendant of Cortés, 167.
- Montezuma*, character of, 192.
- Morton*, Marcus, A reply to the letter

of, reviewed, 372 — remarks on the conduct of, 411.
Muñoz, collection of documents by, respecting Spanish colonial history, 165.
Murray, Hugh, curious blunders of, 501.

N.

Navarrete, collection of historical materials by, 165.
New York, constitution of, how amended, 417 — architecture of Trinity church in, 477 — public libraries in, 228.
Nezahualcoyotl, monarch of Tezcuco, 175.
Nibelungen, Lay of the, 84.
Norway, social state of its people, 484.
Novels, genius required to write, 269 — lack of discrimination respecting, 270 — high requisites for, 271 — difficulty of portraying character in, 274 — fine examples of, 275 — Miss Bremer's, 486 — melodramatic class of, 487 — improvement in the tone of, 488 — made the vehicles of a moral, 489 — epigrammatic style of, *ib*.

O.

Oberon, Wieland's poem of, 91.
Ohio, constitution of, how amended, 417.
Olin, Dr., letter from, in reply to the review of his *Travels*, 253.
Opitz, Martin, poetry of, 88.
Otis, James, on the rights of the Colonies, cited, 426.

P.

Palfrey, J. G., Lowell Lectures on the Evidences by, reviewed, 39 — his style of thought and language, 40 — as a reasoner, 41 — considers Christianity, apart from Judaism, 43 — originality of, 45 — on the external evidences, 46 — on the miracles, 47 — general merits of, 55. See *Evidences*.
Palladian style of architecture, the, 454 — instances of, 454 — nature of, 456.

Pennsylvania, amount of the debt of, 122 — great resources of, 123 — her conduct not fraudulent, 124 — revolt of 1789 in, 433.

People, the, power of, over the constitution, 413 — rights of the majority of, 414 — under the United States constitution, 415 — in the several States, 416 — power of, 421 — patriotism a duty of, 435. See *Majority*.

Pepperell, Sir W., a mill-owner, 323.

Percival, J. G., merits of, as a poet, 19 — quoted, 20.

Phillips, W., speculates in timber lands, 323.

Piron, remark of, on Voltaire, 268.

Pitkin's history, cited, 433.

Pitman, Judge, memorial by, 381, *note*.

Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity, edited by H. B. Hackett, noticed, 514.

Plymouth colony, timber trade of, 314 — making of tar in, 319.

Poems by J. R. Lowell, reviewed, 283. See *Lowell*.

Poems on Man, by C. Mathews, noticed, 509.

Poets and Poetry of America, by R. W. Griswold, reviewed, 1 — great number of, 2 — compared in number with the English poets, 4 — compared in merit also, 5 — their profession not a lucrative one, 6 — wisdom of not depending on it, 7 — characteristics of Charles Sprague, 8 — of R. H. Dana, 13 — of W. C. Bryant, 18 — of J. G. Percival, 19 — of F. G. Halleck, 21 — of H. W. Longfellow, 22 — of O. W. Holmes, 29 — of J. G. Whittier, 30 — of Maria Brooks, 33 — of other female poets, 34 — of other minor poets, 35. See *America*.

Poetry of Germany. See *Gervinus* and *German*.

Ponce, collection of historical documents by, 165.

Porter, Gov., message of, reviewed, 109. See *Pennsylvania* and *Debts*.

Potter, Elisha R., Considerations on the Rhode Island question by, reviewed, 372 — quoted, 383, 393.

Prescott, William H., History of the Conquest of Mexico by, reviewed, 157 — great success of his former work, 158 — predecessors of, in

- this history, 161 — how led to the subject, 164 — materials used by, *ib.* 203 — extent and value of these materials, 166 — account of the Aztec civilization by, 168 — sketch of the golden age of Tezcuco by, 175 — essay on the origin of Mexican civilization by, 176 — high merits of his Introduction and Appendix, 178 — his rich and finished style, 179 — his opinions compared with Stephens's, 180 — his mode of narration, 181 — quoted, 184, 194, 199, 205 — judgment shown in the use of his materials, 186 — collateral matter used by, 187 — his sketch of Montezuma, 194 — of Cortés, 199 — of Bernal Diaz, 205 — moral judgments of, 202 — critical sketches of his authorities by, 207 — style and general character of, 208. See *Mexico*.
- Presbytery and Prelacy*, by Thomas Smyth, noticed, 512.
- Proceedings of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in January, 1843*, by L. S. Cushing, noticed, 243.
- Prometheus*, the, by Lowell, 238, 291.
- Provincials*, worship foreign authorities, 213 — unfavorably situated for forming a manly national character, 214.
- Prussia* heads the Tariff-League, 57 — position of, in reference to the League, 72 — commercial policy of, 74 — opposed to higher duties on British goods, 75.
- Pugin* on pointed architecture, 451.
- Putnam, M. L.*, *The Bondmaid* translated by, reviewed, 480 — merits of the translation, 496. See *Bondmaid*.
- R.
- Rain*, amount of, 363 — Hutton's theory of, 370.
- Reciprocity* treaty with the Hanse Towns, origin and nature of, 61 — small benefits of the, 65.
- Redfield, W. C.*, on the law of storms, reviewed, 335 — discovers the rotary movement of winds, 336 — praised by Brewster, 337 — notes the barometrical changes, 338 — on the hurricanes in the West Indies, 339 — facts and laws discovered by, fully verified, 340 — opposed by Espy, 344 — modifies his first conception, 354 — opposed by Dr. Hare, 355 — his rules to guide the seaman, 355. See *Storms and Espy*.
- Reid, Lt. Col. W.*, on the law of storms, reviewed, 335 — high merits of his work, 341 — facts and laws discovered by, 342 — account of the storm in 1780 by, 346. See *Storms and Espy*.
- Repudiation*, origin of, 130 — limitations of, 142 — true character of, 143 — right of property always sacred, 145 — pretexts for, refuted, 148. See *Debts*.
- Review of Dr. Wayland's Discourse on the Rhode Island question*, reviewed, 371 — contemptible character of the, 412.
- Revolution*, right of, 434. See *American*.
- Rhode Island*, history of the recent contest in, 372 — nature of the question in, 373 — early republican government of, 376 — charter of, how ratified, 377 — government of, not destroyed by the Revolution, 378, 424 — acts performed by, under the charter, 379 — history of the right of suffrage in, 381 — qualifications of freemen in, 382 — inequality of representation in, 383 — history of attempts to change the government of, 384 — change in the population of, 385 — convention of 1824 in, 386 — the constitutional party in, 388 — beginning of the agitation in, 389 — landholders' convention in, 390 — proceedings of the Suffrage Association in, 391 — the people's constitution for, 392 — frauds in voting in, 393 — rejection of the landholders' constitution for, 395 — great excitement in, 396 — elections in, 397 — the governor of, applies to the President for aid, 398 — military movements in, 399 — Dorr returns to, 401 — attack on the arsenal in, 402 — attack on Dorr's head-quarters, 403 — continued agitation in, 405 — camp formed at Chepachet in, 406 — end of the rebellion in, 408 — new constitution established in, 409 — publications relating to, reviewed, 410

- Gov. Morton's interference in the affairs of, 411 — nature of the question in, 413 — the case of, examined, 414 — theory and practice of the Suffrage party in, 417 — authority for changing the government in, 418 — legal character of the government of, 423 — proceedings in, not sanctioned by the doctrines of the Revolution, 428 — delegates of, to the old Congress, 429 — parallels to the rebellion in, 430 — aggravated character of the revolt in, 433. See *People*.
- Rhacus*, by Lowell, 289, 294.
- Richter*, Jean Paul, character and writings of, 100 — his love of composition, 101 — particular mention of his works, 103.
- Robertson*, Dr., history of the conquest of Mexico by, 161.
- Roenne*, Baron, his letter on the treaty with the Hanse Towns, criticised, 71, 75.
- Rousseau's* testimony for Christianity, 54.
- Rural Architecture*, by Edward Shaw, reviewed, 436. See *Architecture*.
- S.
- Sam Slick*, in England, reviewed, 211 — not a good representative of the Yankee character, *ib.* — description of an English rainy day by, 216 — of English women, 217 — a story by, 218. See *Attaché*.
- Sargent*, E., compared with Falconer, 5.
- Saw-mills*, history of, 320 — in New England, 321 — curious old grants for, 322 — owners of, *ib.* — number of, in 1840, 324.
- Scamozzi*, as quoted by Chambers, 445.
- Schiller*, a dramatist by nature, 106 — compared with Goethe, *ib.*
- Scituate*, grant for a saw-mill in, 322.
- Scott*, pictorial imagination of, 277.
- Shakspeare's* boundless range of characters, 274.
- Shaw*, Edward, *Rural Architecture* by, reviewed, 436 — qualifications of, 475 — absurd designs of, 476.
- Sigourney*, Mrs., poetry of, 34.
- Smith*, John, speaks of woods in New England, 300.
- Smith*, Mrs. E. O., poetry of, 34.
- Smyth*, Thomas, on Presbyterianism and Prelacy, noticed, 512.
- Solis*, history of the conquest of Mexico by, 163.
- South Carolina*, constitution of, how amended, 417.
- Southey's* opinion of Dr. Robertson, 162.
- Sparks*, Works of Washington by, cited, 427 — life of Morris by, cited, 429.
- Sprague*, Charles, merits of the domestic poems of, 8 — tone of his poetry, 9 — quoted, 10, 12 — his poem of "Curiosity" stolen, 11 — odes by, 12.
- State Stocks and Revenues*, reviewed, 109. See *Debts* of the States.
- Steeple*s in architecture, 463.
- Stephens*, Mr., on the origin of Mexican civilization, 180.
- Storms*, Theory of, 335 — Franklin discovers a law of, *ib.* — rotary movement of, 336 — general laws of, 337 — particular hurricanes, 339, 342, 345 — connexion of, with electricity and magnetism, 343 — Espy's theory of, 344, 358 — storm of 1780, 345 — of August, 1837, 351 — newspaper accounts of, 353 — motion of tornados, 364. See *Espy*, *Reid*, and *Redfield*.
- Street*, A. B., as a descriptive poet, 5.
- Strife and Peace*, by Miss Bremer, American and English translations of, reviewed, 482 — Mrs. Howitt's version of, compared with the American, 499 — faults of the former, 500 — translation of the mottoes to, 507. See *Howitt*.
- Suffrage*, history of the right of, in Rhode Island, 381 — qualifications for, 382 — under the landholder's constitution, 390 — under the people's constitution, 392 — limitation of, in the several States, 419. See *People*.
- Sweden*, interesting associations connected with, 480 — people of, compared with the Yankees, 481 — great names belonging to, 482 — character of the peasantry in, 483 — crime and intemperance in, 484 — want of a middle class in, 485 — language and poetry of, 486.

Swift, Judge, digest of laws by, quoted, 424.

T.

Tar, manufacture of, in New England, 319.

Tariff League of Germany, 55 — formation of, 57 — history and nature of, 58, *note* — approved by the industrious classes in Germany, 59 — increase of, 60 — influence of, 63 — gains strength and reputation in 1840, 64 — probable permanency of, 66 — should form treaties with the United States, 69 — changes effected by, 72 — strongly favored by Southern Germany, 73 — Austria not admitted into it, 76 — probable extension of, 78. See *Germany*.

Taylor, S. H., *Krebs's Guide for Writing Latin*, translated by, noticed, 250.

Tegnér, the Swedish poet, 483.

Thompson's War, 319, *note*.

Tides, high, cause of, 342.

Timber Trade of Maine, the, 299 — royal restrictions on, 307 — quarrels about, 308 — how trespassers were prosecuted, 309 — laws about, could not be enforced. *ib.* — early progress of, 314 — action of parliament on, 315 — extent of, *ib.* — conduct of the lumberers at the opening of the Revolution, 318 — statistics of, 323 — shipping ports for, 326 — future prospects of, 327 — foreign competition with, 331 — sketch of the lumberer's character and life, 332. See *Forest and Maine*.

Troubadours, poetry of the, 84.

Trueba y Cosío, Don T. de, history of the Conquest of Mexico by, 163.

Tuckerman, H. T., as a poet, 5.

Tyler, President, letter of, to Gov. King, cited, 398, 400.

U.

United States, treaty of the, with the Hanse Towns, 55 — with Hanover, 61 — little advantage gained by the, from these treaties, 65 —

should treat with the *Tariff League*, 67, 69 — advantages presented by, to all commercial nations, 70 — the commercial prosperity of, up to 1836, 110 — war between the government of, and the U. S. Bank, 112 — wild spirit of speculation in, 113 — increase of population and commerce in, 116 — wonders accomplished in, 117 — commercial revulsion in, 119 — great distress in, 121 — right of making internal improvements in, 129 — courts in, for redressing the injuries done to foreigners, 152 — responsible for wrong done by the several States, 153. See *Debts*. *Duer's Lectures on the Constitution of the*, noticed, 236.

V.

Vaughan, William, a land speculator, 323.

W.

Wagenseil's "Tela Ignea Satanæ," 48.

Walpole, Horace, on Burlington House, 454.

Washington, on the desire for independence, 427 — on government, 432.

Wayland, Dr. Francis, Discourse on the affairs of Rhode Island by, reviewed, 371.

Waymouth speaks of the trees of New England, 300.

Webster, Mr., speech of, at Baltimore, 55.

Wentworths, the, surveyer-generals in Maine, 307.

West Indies, hurricanes in the, 339.

Whipple, John, Address on the Rhode Island Question by, reviewed, 372 — merits of, 410.

Whittier, John G., passionate character of his poetry, 30 — quoted, 31 — high qualities of, 32.

Wieland, C. M., character and poetry of, 90 — reproduces the spirit of the Middle Ages, 91 — irregular opinions and career of, 92.

Willie Rogers, or *Temper Improved*, noticed, 513.

Winckelmann, character and works
of, 96 — his History of Art, 97.

Wren, Sir C., constructive skill of,
441 — rules by, 459.

X.

Xenophon's Anabasis, edited by Al-
pheus Crosby, noticed, 516.

Y.

Yale College, library of, 230.

Yankees, the, not well represented
by Sam Slick, 211 — difficulty of
portraying, 212 — compared with
the Norsemen, 481.

Z.

Zóphiël, by Mrs. Brooks, 33.

4232